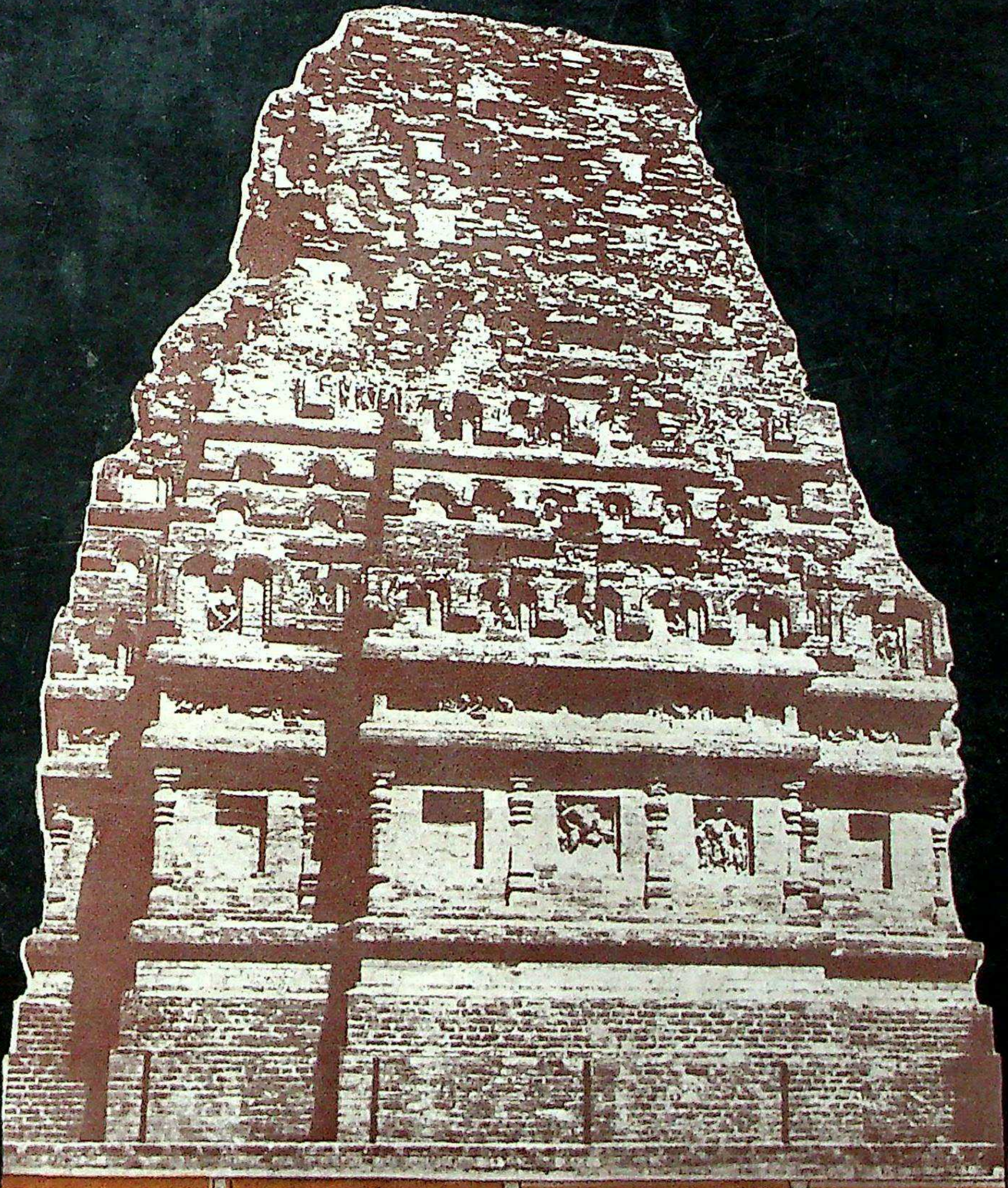
The Temple of Bhītargāon



Mohammad Zaheer

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THE TEMPLE OF BHĪTARGĀON

MOHAMMAD ZAHEER

WITH A FOREWORD BY
C. SIVARAMAMURTI

1981
AGAM KALA PRAKASHAN
DELHI

In addition, he has given us a glimpse of Gupta civilisation portrayed in terracotta art by studying such themes as dress and ornaments, hair styles and other details of fashion and mode of life that determine the style and outlook of an age. His identifications range from themes commonly known from other lithic and terracotta representations to rare portrayal of incidents from the Puranas and the Epics like Viṣṇu's destruction of Madhu and Kaitabha by strangulation nowhere else so dipicted or Durga throttling Śumbha and Niśumbha or Gaṅeśa sporting in a friendly attitude with Ganas almost in the manner of a child with other children of his age for modaka sweets. He has brought out how unconventional and refreshing is the early phase of Gupta art where formal expressions are still unborn. There are examples like Viṣṇu almost unconcerned about his yellow silken garment, pitambara, just having the crown on his head and that too of the earliest type, getting ready to fight the advancing demons Madhu and Kaitabha also shown in the most informal way. The panel representing Gaṅeśa and the Gana is equally a fine example of this not too sophisticated early Gupta mode of representation.

Dr. M. Zaheer is to be congratulated on producing so comprehensive a book and scholars all over the world should be grateful to him for so sumptuously illustrating it with excellent plates which help to make his arguments convincing.

The book will be welcomed by one and all as an excellent contribution towards a phase of Gupta art which has long awaited study and interpretation.

C. Sivaramamurti

New Delhi,
Ist September, 1980.

PREFACE

The brick temple of Bhītargāon is widely acknowledged to be the key temple since it is perhaps the oldest roofed Hindu shrine extant with a high śikhara. The temple was first discovered in 1877 but no detailed study of its features was made for almost a hundred years though there is no book on ancient Indian architecture in which reference to this temple may not have been made. These references were based on the very short surveys conducted by Cunningham in 1877-78 and by Vogel and Longhurst in 1907-09. I was fascinated by this monument because of its unique position in ancient Indian architecture, and the beautiful terracotta panels and bricks with which it is embellished. Though not academically qualified to embark on such a venture, I persuaded myself to study the temple and its features in detail and to write this monograph. I have in this way tried to fill a very important gap in the study of the evolution of temple architecture in India. The present survey aims at being comprehensive, and not selective. No feature, aspect, sculptural relief, floral and geometrical decoration has been omitted on the ground of its being of lesser value or importance than others.

For help and guidance I must most profoundly thank Dr. C. Sivaramamurti, the doyen of Indian Indologists and art historians who was so good as to read through the whole manuscript and to offer valuable guidance. Prof. J.E. Van Lohuizen de Leeuw of the Institute of South-Asian Archaeology, Amsterdam, also went through considerable portions of the manuscript and offered very valuable advice. My friend Shri. V.P. Mathur, Deputy Director, Cultural Affairs, Govt. of U.P. has been unsparing in his help and enthusiasm and braved many hardships in taking most of the photographs. I must also thank Shri Azmat Shah for the drawings included as Fig. 39.1 to 39.5.

I am grateful to the Archaeological Survey of India for allowing me to photograph the monument, to have its measured drawings made, to make drawings in Fig. 35-38 from photographs of the Survey and for permission to reproduce photographs in Fig. 48-52.

Thanks are due to the following for allowing reproduction of photographs and illustrations so graciously provided by them.

American Institute of Indian Studies	: Fig. 59, 63, 65, 66, 71, 72, 76 and 78.
Indian Museum Calcutta	: Fig. 84 and 189.

Photographs for Fig. 85, 111, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 140, 141, 145, 151, 179 and 200 were obtained with the permission of the authorities of the State Museum, Lucknow, whose cooperation is acknowledged.

I acknowledge the kindness of Dr. K.K. Sinha in allowing me to photograph the objects illustrated as Fig. 38. Photographs reproduced as Fig. 53 to 56 were supplied by the late David McCutcheon.

I must also express my sincere thanks to Shri Agam Prasad of Agam Kala Prakashan who so readily agreed to publish this book together with all the illustrations and without any editing or curtailment.

Allahabad
September 1, 1980.

Mohammad Zaheer

CONTENTS

Foreword v
Preface vii
List of Illustrations xi
Correspondence List of Figures xix
I. LOCATION AND DISCOVERY 1
II. GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLE 15
III. ARCHITECTURAL ORNAMENTATION—DECORATIVE BRICKS AND PILASTERS 29
IV. COMPARISON WITH ORNAMENTAL BRICKS FROM OTHER SITES 45
V. ARRANGEMENT AND SEQUENCE OF TERRACOTTA PANELS 68
VI. DESCRIPTION OF TERRACOTTA RELIEFS 83
VII. COMPARISON WITH THE ART OF CONTEMPORARY TERRACOTTA PANELS 115
VIII. ICONOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS 141
IX. DRESS, HAIR STYLES AND ORNAMENTS 144
X. DATE OF THE TEMPLE 160
Bibliography
Index
Plates

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

MAPS AND DRAWINGS

1. Map of India. facing p. 1
2. Map of central north-India. facing p. 1
3. Route to Bhītargāon. facing p. 1
4. Measured drawing of east elevation. 8
5. Measured drawing of south elevation. 9
6. Measured drawing of west elevation. 10
7. Measured drawing of north elevation. 11
8. Measured drawing of eastern face in 1909. 12
9. Measured drawing of north-east angle in 1909. 12
10. Comparative plan as in 1877, 1909 and 1977. 13
11. Comparative section as in 1877, 1909 and 1977. 14
12. Line drawings of motifs on bricks and pilasters. 35
13. Line drawings of motifs on bricks and pilasters. 36
14. Plan indicating location of pilasters. 37
15. Elevation of pilasters. 37
16. Pilaster No. 3. 37
17. Pilaster No. 5. 37
18. Pilaster No. 7. 37
19. Pilaster No. 8. 38
20. Pilaster No. 9. 38
21. Pilaster No. 10. 38
22. Pilaster No. 12. 38
23. Pilaster No. 14. 38
24. Pilaster No. 17. 39
25. Pilaster No. 19. 39
26. Pilaster No. 20. 39

27. Pilaster No. 21. 39
28. Pilaster No. 22. 39
29. Pilaster No. 23. 40
30. Pilaster No. 24. 40
31. Pilaster No. 25. 40
32. Pilaster No. 26. 40
33. Pilaster No. 27. 40
34. Carved bricks from Ahichchhatra. 56
35. 1. Elevation of pilaster from plinth of *Stūpa* 14 at Kasiā. 63
    2. Cornice of *Stūpa* 136 at Sārnāth. 63
36. Carved bricks from Sārnāth. 63
37. Carved bricks from Śrāvastī. 64
38. Carved bricks from Bhītarī. 65
39. 1. Dresses. 153
    2. Head dresses of men. 154
    3. Ornaments. 155
    4. Hair styles of women. 156
    5. Hair styles of women. 157

PLATES

40. Eastern face of the temple.
41. Southern face of the temple.
42. Western face of the temple.
43. Northern face of the temple.
44. View from north-east in 1877.
45. Corresponding view from north-east in 1965.
46. View from south-west in 1877.
47. Corresponding view from south-west in 1965.
48. South-eastern face after restoration with plaster in 1905.
49. South-eastern face after removal of plaster.
50. Detail of southern face in 1909.
51. Detail of northern face in 1909.
52. Bricks in the State Museum, Lucknow, photographed in 1909.
53. Lakṣmana temple at Sirpūr ; elephant, lion and human face.
54. Lakṣmana temple at Sirpūr ; pilaster and decorative motifs.
55. Lakṣmana temple at Sirpūr ; false door.
56. Lakhaneswara temple at Kharōd ; decorative motifs.

ICONOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATIONS

57. E 1.1 Viṣṇu on Garuḍa.
58. E 1.2 Gangā.
59. E 1.3 Yamunā.

60. E 1.4 Unidentified figures.
61. E 12.16 Man striking an adversary with a sword.
62. S 1.1 Ascetic.
63. S 1.2 Śiva flaying elephant.
63.1. Detail from Fig. 63.
64. S 1.3 Gaṇesa.
65. S 1.4 Śiva and Pārvatī.
66. S 1.5 Viṣṇu with *Āyudhapuruṣas*.
67. S 3.25 Viṣṇu strangulating two demons.
68. S 3.26 Nāga deity.
69. S 3.27 Krṣna killing Vraṣabhāsura.
70. W 1.1 Nāga with recumbent figure.
71. W 1.2 Viṣṇu as Varāha *Avatāra*.
72. W 1.3 Viṣṇu with *Āyuddhapuruṣas*.
73. W 1.4 Four-armed goddess.
74. W 3.27 Rāmā and Sītā.
75. W 9.33 Female figure offering bowl to male figure.
76. N 1.1 Gaja-lakṣmī.
77. N 1.2 Viṣṇu destroying demons.
78. N 1.3 Durgā destroying demons.
79. N 1.4 Kṛṣṇa and Balārama.
80. N 1.5 Archer.
81. N 3.27 Kṛṣṇa slaying elephant Kuvalayāpīdha.
82. N 9.39 Male figure with two female attendants.
83. N 9.40 Temptation of Nara Nārāyana.
84. 806 IMC Viṣṇu with Madhu and Kaitabha.
85. 2026 SML Gaṇeśa with a platter of sweets.

GROUPS OF FIGURES

86. W 2.17 Two male figures.
87. N 2.13 Two foliated human figures.
88. N 2.21 Human figures.
89. N 2.22 Woman with two other figures.

SINGLE MALE FIGURES

90. E 3.11 Legs of kneeling figure.
91. E 3.15 Seated male figure.
92. S 3.28 Kneeling figure.
93. W 2.8 *Gaṇa*.
94. W 2.10 Standing figure,
95. W 2.11 Warrior in coat of mail.
96. W 2.13 Warrior in coat of mail.
97. N 2.12 Standing figure.

98. N 2.18 Standing figure.
99. N 2.20 Standing male figure.
100. N 3.25 Seated male figure.
101. N 8.36 Seated male figure with legs crossed.
102. S 3.24 Standing male figure.
103. S 13.38 Seated male figure.
104. W 3.21 Standing male figure.
105. W 3.22 Standing male figure.
106. W 3.23 Seated male figure.
107. W 8.31 Tarso of standing male figure.
108. W 8.32 *Vidyādhara.*
109. N 3.28 Standing male figure.
110. N 3.29 Seated male figure.
111. L 8 SML Kneeling figure.

SINGLE FEMALE FIGURES

112. E 2.6 Standing female figure.
113. E 2.8 Standing female figure.
114. S 10.36 Reclining female figure.
115. S 11.37 Standing female figure.
116. W 2.6 Reclining female figure.
117. N 6.33 Standing female figure.
118. N 8.38 Kneeling female figure.

MITHUNAS

119. E 3.12 *Mithuna* couple.
120. E 3.14 *Mithuna* couple.
121. S 2.7 *Mithuna* couple.
122. S 2.8 *Mithuna* couple.
123. W 3.20 *Mithuna* couple.
124. W 3.25 *Mithuna* couple.
125. W 3.26 *Mithuna* couple.
126. N 3.24 *Mithuna* couple.
127. N 3.26 *Mithuna* couple.
128. N 3.30 *Mithuna* couple.

HEADS OF FEMALES

129. W 6.28 Head of female.
130. W 6.30 Head of female.
131. N 7.35 Head of female.

132. 67.594 SML Head of female.
133. 67.147 SML Head of female.
134. 67.138 SML Head of female.
135. L. 7 SML Head of female.
136. L. 5 SML Head of female.
137. S 4.32 Head of female.
138. S 4.30 Head of female.
139. W 6.29 Head of female.
140. 67.595 SML Head of female.
141. L. 6 SML Head of female.
142. S 4.31 Head of female.
143. S 6.34 Head of female.
144. N 6.34 Head of female.
145. 66.521 SML Head of female.
146. N 6.31 Head of female.

HEADS OF MALES

147. S 5.33 Head of male.
148. N 6.32 Head of male.

WRESTLING AND COMBAT

149. W 2.16 Wrestlers.
150. W 3.24 Warrior attacking adversary.
151. 67.140 SML Wrestlers.

MEN AND ANIMALS

152. S 2.6 Men and animals.
153. S 2.17 Man being devoured by crocodiles.
154. W 2.7 Procession.
155. W 2.9 Rider on bull with attendants.
156. W 2.14 Warrior attacking elephant.
157. N 2.10 Male figure on a cleft-hoofed animal.
158. N 2.19 Man and a cleft-hoofed animal.
159. Plate XVI, Vol. XI, ASIR Men and *makaras*.

ANIMALS OTHER THAN *MAKARA*

160. S 2.9 Mythical animal.
161. S 2.10 Animal with foliated limbs.

162.	S 2.14	Winged lion.
163.	S 2.18	Two lions with single head.
164.	S 2.22	Mythical animal.
165.	S 2.23	Mythical animal.
166.	N 2.16	Mythical animal.
167.	N 2.17	Animal without foliations.
168.	N 2.23	Elephant and lion.
169.	N 8.37	Seated figure with lion's head.

MAKARA

170.	E 2.5	*Makara.*
171.	E 2.9	*Makara.*
172.	S 2.20	Two *Makaras* back to back.
173.	S 2.21	*Makara.*
174.	W 2.15	*Makara.*
175.	W 2.18	*Makara.*
176.	N 2.6	*Makara.*
177.	N 2.11	*Makara.*
178.	N 2.14	*Makara.*
179.	S 3117 SML	*Makara.*

BIRDS

180.	E 2.7	Bird with foliated wings and tail.
181.	S 2.13	Peacock.
182.	S 2.15	Peacock.
183.	S 2.16	Peacock.
184.	S 2.19	Peacock.
185.	S 10.35	Bird.
186.	W 2.5	Peacock.
187.	W 2.19	Bird.
188.	N 2.8	Bird.
189.	53/62 IMC	Fighting birds.

FOLIATIONS

190.	E 2.10	Foliated motif.
191.	S 2.11	Foliated motif.
192.	S 2.12	Foliated motif.
193.	W 2.12	Foliated motif.
194.	N 2.7	Foliated motif.
195.	N 2.9	Foliated motif.

LOTUS MEDALLION

196. N 14.41 Lotus medallion.

UNIDENTIFIED PANELS

197. E 3.13 Unidentified subject.
198. S 3.29 Unidentified subject.
199. S 2.15 Unidentified subject.
200. 66.95 SML Steatite Plaque found during excavations in 1909.

ILLUSTRATIONS FORMING PART OF THE TEXT

A. Recessed plan. 16

B. Corbel arrangement. 21

C. 1. Arch with headers against headers,
2. Arch with face against face,
3. Brick illustrating headers and stretchers. 22

D. Pile of bricks from Śrāvasti. 60

E. *Gavākṣas* in the third row of terra-cotta reliefs. 74

F. Pilasters from Bhītargāon and Kasia compared. 161

G. Trefoil motif from Bhītargāon, Bhārhut and Mathura. 167

H. *Kīrtimukha.* 169

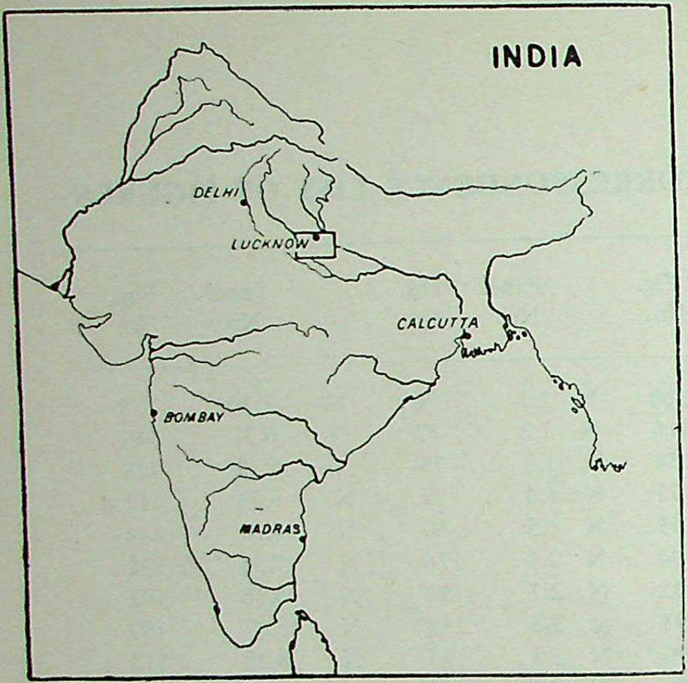
CORRESPONDENCE LIST OF FIGURES

Panel No.	Fig. No.	Panel No.	Fig. No.	Panel No.	Fig. No.	Panel No.	Fig. No.	Panel No.	Fig. No.
E 1.1	57	S 2.14	162	W 2.5	186	N 1.1	76	N 3.30	128
E 1.2	58	S 2.15	182	W 2.6	116	N 1.2	77	N 6.31	146
E 1.3	59	S 2.16	183	W 2.7	154	N 1.3	78	N 6.32	148
E 1.4	60	S 2.17	153	W 2.8	93	N 1.4	79	N 6.33	117
E 2 5	170	S 2.18	163	W 2.9	155	N 1.5	80	N 6.34	144
E 2.6	112	S 2.19	184	W 2.10	94	N 2.6	176	N 7.35	131
E 2.7	180	S 2.20	172	W 2.11	95	N 2.7	194	N 8.36	101
E 2.8	113	S 2.21	173	W 2.12	193	N 2.8	188	N 8.37	169
E 2.9	171	S 2.22	164	W 2.13	96	N 2.9	195	N 8.38	118
E 2.10	190	S 2.23	165	W 2.14	156	N 2.10	157	N 9.39	82
E 3.11	90	S 3.24	102	W 2.15	174	N 2.11	177	N 9.40	83
E 3.12	119	S 3.25	67	W 2.16	149	N 2.12	97	N 14.41	196
E 3.13	197	S 3.26	68	W 2.17	86	N 2.13	87	806 IMC	84
E 3.14	120	S 3.27	69	W 2.18	175	N 2.14	178	2026 SML	85
E 3.15	91	S 3.28	92	W 2.19	187	N 2.15	199	L.8 SML	111
E 12.16	61	S 3.29	198	W 3.20	123	N 2.16	166	67.594 SML	132
S 1.1	62	S 4.30	138	W 3.21	104	N 2.17	167	67.147 SML	133
S 1.2	63	S 4.31	142	W 3.22	105	N 2.18	98	67.138 SML	134
S 1.3	64	S 4.32	137	W 3.23	106	N 2.19	158	L.7 SML	135
S 1.4	65	S 5.33	147	W 3.24	150	N 2.20	99	L.5 SML	136
S 1.5	66	S 6.34	143	W 3.25	124	N 2.21	88	67.595 SML	140
S 2.6	152	S 10.35	185	W 3.26	125	N 2.22	89	L.6 SML	141
S 2.7	121	S 10.36	114	W 3.27	74	N 2.23	168	66.521 SML	145
S 2.8	122	S 11.37	115	W 6.28	129	N 3.24	126	67.140 SML	151
S 2.9	160	S 13.38	103	W 6.29	139	N 3.25	100	A.S.I.R. Vol. XI	
S 2.10	161	W 1.1	70	W 6.30	130	N 3.26	127	Pl. XVI	159
S 2.11	191	W 1.2	71	W 8.31	107	N 3.27	81	S 3111 SML	179
S 2.12	192	W 1.3	72	W 8.32	108	N 3.28	109	53/62 IMC	189
S 2.13	181	W 1.4	73	W 9.33	75	N 3.29	110	66.95 SML	200

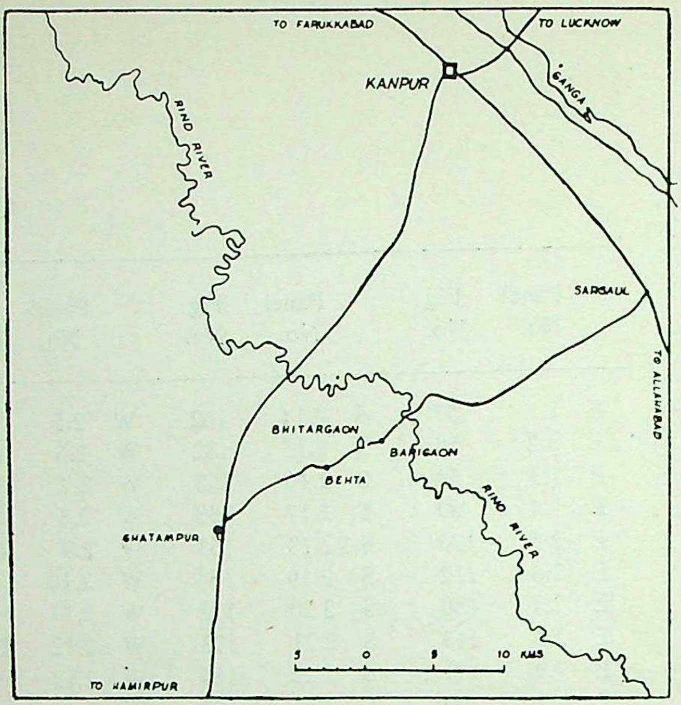
IMC—Indian Museum Calcutta
SML—State Museum Lucknow

ABBREVIATIONS

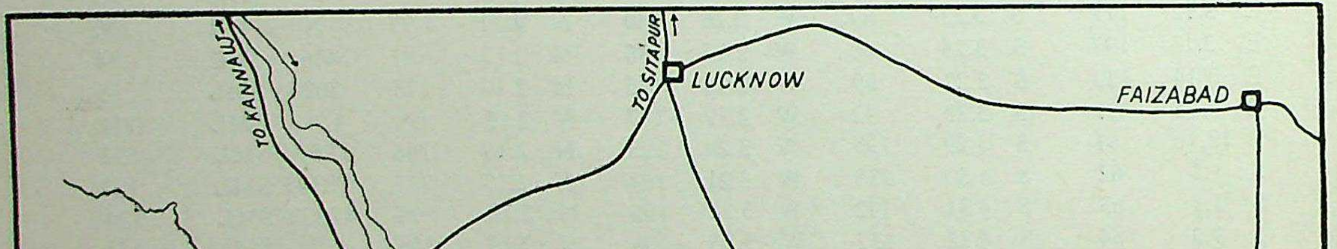
A.S.I.R.	*Archaeological Survey of India Report (Cunningham's Reports)*
A.S.I.A.R.	*Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report*


INDIA
DELHI
LUCKNOW
CALCUTTA
BOMBAY
MADRAS

1. Map of India.


TO FARUKKABAD
TO LUCKNOW
KANPUR
GANGA
RIND RIVER
SARSAUL
TO ALLAHABAD
BHITARGAON
BARIGAON
BEHTA
GHATAMPUR
RIND RIVER
5 0 5 10 KMS
TO HAMIRPUR

3. Route to Bhītargāon.


TO KANNAUJ
TO SITAPUR
LUCKNOW
FAIZABAD
RIND
KANPUR
CANAL
SARSAUL
BEHTA
BHITARGAON
GHATAMPUR
RAEBARELI
SULTANPUR
TO JHANSI
GANGA
RIND
HAMIRPUR
FATEHPUR
PRATAPGARH
BETWA
YAMUNA
0 10 20 30 KMS
BANDA
ALLAHABAD
TO VARANASI

2. Map of central north-India.

CHAPTER I

LOCATION AND DISCOVERY

Screened unromantically by humble dwelling houses and the market place of a village, the subdued russet splendour of the temple at Bhītargāon bursts into view in a single sweep of the eye. The spectator feels that he is in the presence of an aged hermit of profound but blissful visage meditating serenely in the open space on the outskirts of a dusty and congested village. The appeal invoked by the intricate pattern of tiers and decorations of the western facade, which first comes into sight, is accentuated by the controlled unity of focus. As no other relics compete for attention, the whole monument is covered by the sweep of a single glance. This easy visual approach generates the compelling need to linger and explore the pattern brick by brick, and the ornaments panel by panel.

This Hindu temple is most likely the oldest surviving brick building in India. It is located in the village of Bhītargāon in the Ghatampur Tehsil of Kanpur district in the State of Uttar Pradesh. The temple can now be approached from Kanpur by three alternative routes. Until about five years ago the only route available was *via* Dharampur and Behta. This route was of a total distance of 41 km of which 29.1 km was on the Kanpur-Hamirpur metalled road, 7.3 km by the side of the Ghatampur Canal Distributory which is unmetalled and rough, and the remaining 4.6 km by another unmetalled track to the site. Now, the village has been connected on the one side with Ghatampur and on the other with another metalled road which joins the Grand Trunk Road at Sarsaul. The distance from Kanpur *via* Sarsaul is 32 km and 48 km by the other route (Figs. 1-3).

The village of Bhītargāon had a population of 2,751 souls at the census of 1971. It is also the headquarters of a Community Development Block of 110 villages. It is served by a small market, and has a secondary school. The area of the village is 286 hectares, out of which the inhabited area accounts for 23 hectares.[1]

The temple of Bhītargāon is situated on the eastern outskirts of the village and is now on a metalled road which passes by its side and goes on to village Birsinghpur and then on across the river Rind to join the Grand Trunk Road at Sarsaul. On the eastern and southern sides it is bounded by agricultural fields, on the west by compound and the buildings of the local secondary school and on the north by some new buildings which have recently sprung up.

Bhītargāon, which means the inner village, is the counterpart of the adjacent Bārīgāon or the outer village. The river Rind or Arind is 5.4 km away and the surrounding tract was in the past not well-connected by any good roads or by rail, the nearest railway line being 5 km, the nearest railway station 7 km and the nearest metalled road 8 km away. Now it is well-connected by two metalled roads. The monument did not attract much attention for about 1,500 years and stood on its site uncared for but also unmolested. Inaccessibility thus contributed to its survival. Whatever decay it has suffered is probably the result of natural causes, weather and time. It was ignored even by the recent generations of people who were born in its shadow and lived their whole lives around it. Being out of worship for many centuries, there is no local tradition attached to it. History has thus bequeathed through ignorance and apathy an unparalleled monument of the past. For, no other brick temple so beautifully decorated, and also with most of the structure standing intact, survives from the early Gupta period, to which it undoubtedly belongs.

Before the Muslim invasion the tract in which the village of Bhītargāon stands belonged to the kingdom of Kannauj. Later on it came under the sway of the Sultans of Delhi and passed from them to the Mughals, then to the Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad. For some time the territory was included in the realm of the Nawab Wazirs of Avadh. It was ceded to the East India Company in 1801,[2] and held by the British Government until 1947. The river Rind is a tributary of the Yamunā and the village of Bhītargāon is situated between the two rivers near the lower reaches of the tributary. This area must have been heavily wooded in ancient times and thus rather inaccessible, a factor which contributed to the comparative safety of the temple. Along the Rind there are remains of a number of other temples. According to tradition there was a temple every two miles along the lower part of its course. The construction of these monuments has been attributed to the Gautama Rajas of Argal. There are remains of other temples at Paraulī, Rār, Simbhua, Bhadeonā, Kohrā and Karchuliāpur. However, none of these match the temple at Bhītargāon in antiquity, for the former have to be dated between the 8th and 12th centuries A.D.[3]

The monument was discovered in 1877 by Alexander Cunningham who visited the site in November of that year and again in February 1878.[4] According to him, the temple was at that time known as Deval, a word meaning shrine. There was another one called Jhījhīnāga of almost the same dimensions five hundred feet (152.4 m) to the south. It was then a mere mound of bricks. He found numerous ornamental bricks at this mound with which he repaired several portions of the lower part of the Deval. He also discovered that many of the mouldings and dimensions were the same in both temples.[5] At the site of Jhījhīnāga only a platform of mud supported by bricks is now left, along with a few broken pieces of sculpture; the mound of bricks reported by Cunningham has long since disappeared. The present dimensions of the platform are 12.19×7.01×1.52 m.

In the course of the excavations carried out around the temple, Cunningham discovered a number of terracotta panels and other fragments as well as carved bricks. Some of the bricks were used by him for the restoration of the temple. He sent at least two panels to the Indian Museum, Calcutta where the plaques (reproduced here as Figs. 84 and 189) are still preserved.

The second survey of the temple was carried out by J.Ph. Vogel in December 1907[6] and the third by A.H. Longhurst in January 1909.[7] The latter collected 81 objects which were deposited in the Provincial (now State) Museum, Lucknow.[8] These were listed as follows :[9]

1. Terra-cotta bas-relief, rectangular panel (18½″×9½″×2¼″) representing a headless male figure apparently attacking a four-armed Gaṇeśa.

2. Terra-cotta bas-relief, circular panel (7½″ diameter and 2″ thick) representing a smiling female head looking out of a circular window.

3-7. Terra-cotta bas-reliefs, each 6″×6″ representing female heads looking out of arched windows.

8. Terra-cotta bas-relief, broken portion of a rectangular panel 5½″×9½″×3″ representing male figure, head and right arm missing.

9. Carved stone tablet (7″×3¾″) representing Śiva and Pārvatī, with Gaṇeśa and Nandi below, found inside the sanctum, about 14 feet below the floor level of the temple, amongst the foundations.

10-12. Terra-cotta fragments of female heads.

13. Terra-cotta fragment of an animal's head.

14-31. Carved bricks, incomplete.

32-38. Terra-cotta fragments.

39. Terra-cotta bas-relief, broken rectangular panel (18½″×9½″×3″) representing two male figures wrestling. The head and right leg of the proper left figure are missing and only one leg of the other figure is preserved.

49-50. Terra-cotta fragments.

51. Terra-cotta bas-relief circular panel (11″ diameter). Much decayed.

52-68. Broken terra-cotta fragments.

69-81. Broken carved bricks.

These objects fall into the following categories :

Category	*Item No. in Longhurst's list*	*No.*
Stone tablet	9	1
Terracotta panels	1 to 8, 39 and 51	10
Fragments of terracottas	10 to 12, 13, 32 to 38, 40 to 50 and 52 to 68	39
Carved bricks	14 to 31 and 69 to 81	31
	Total	81

As these objects were not in all cases clearly marked and were also mixed with a large number of carved bricks from other sites, it has not been possible to isolate those which belong to Bhītargāon, though many of the ornamental bricks in the State Museum at Lucknow are identical with those found *in situ*. Among the terracotta fragments in the museum only one item could be identified as being definitely from Bhītargāon. Out of ten more or less complete panels nine could be retraced. Three more objects from this list could be identified making a total of 13. These are detailed below.

No. in Longhurst's list	*Longhurst's description*	*No. of object in State Museum, Lucknow*	*Fig. No. (infra)*
1.	Terra-cotta bas-relief, rectangular panel representing a headless male figure apparently attacking a four-armed Gaṇeśa.	LM 2026	85
2.	Terra-cotta bas-relief, circular panel representing a smiling female head looking out of a circular window.	67-595	140
3-7 and 10-11	Terra-cotta bas-relief, each 6″×6″ (15.2×15.2 cm) representing female heads looking out of arched windows. Terra-cotta fragments of female heads.	67.594 67.147 67.138 L.7 L.5 L.6 66.521	132 133 134 135 136 141 145
8.	Terra-cotta bas-relief, broken portion of a rectangular panel representing male figure, head and right arm missing.	L.8	111
9.	Carved stone tablet.	66.95	205
13.	Terra-cotta fragment of an animal's head.	S.3111	179
39.	Terra-cotta bas-relief, broken rectangular panel representing two male figures wrestling.	67.140	151

The temple of Bhītargāon was declared a protected monument in notification No. 1928 M. 367 dated 8th September, 1908 under the Ancient Monuments Preservations Act VII of 1904.[10] The results of the survey made in 1907 and 1909 were incorporated in the *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report* for 1908-09 published in 1912.[11] For more than fifty years following Longhurst's description no further survey of the temple was made. From the published literature it appears that almost all archaeologists and art historians who wrote about Bhītargāon based their references on the reports of Cunningham, Vogel and Longhurst. In 1963 the author presented at the International Congress of Orientalists held in New Delhi,[12] a paper with 103 illustrations projected through transparencies. In 1968 a paper was published in two instalments.[13] Again in 1969 another article was published[14] to which a reference in greater detail has been made in Chapter VIII. In 1974, three panels and part of the south face were published in a book on Gupta sculpture.[15] The present survey was taken up with a view to make a comprehensive study of the temple. In the course of this survey, all the terracotta panels, pilasters, and motifs on ornamental bricks were photographed and in a number of cases documented through measured drawings.

Little, if any, of the architectural details of the base existed at the time of the discovery of the temple. The bricks had apparently worked loose and had fallen off, and were in course of time removed from the site.

During his visit in November 1877 and again in February 1878, Cunningham undertook repairs of the temple to the extent of fixing loose panels and re-incorporating mouldings and carved bricks found around the monument and also at the other site to which he referred as Jhījhīnāga.

Six years after Cunningham's visit, it was proposed to repair the temple with bricks of the same size. The estimate of expenditure prepared by the Public Works Department came to Rs. 1,945. This outlay was then regarded as excessive and it was decided to repair only those portions of the plinth which had crumbled as well as the face of the porch at the more reasonable outlay of Rs. 550. However, no attempt was made to carry out even these modest repairs with the result that in 1895, the entire porch collapsed. Ultimately repairs were effected in 1905 under the supervision of an overseer of the Public Works Department, who chose to erect the entire body of the temple in an unrelieved straight vertical line. He then applied to the lower part up to a height of about three and a half metres a thick coat of lime plaster and finished it off with gleaming white paint. Mercifully, he allowed the panels to interrupt this garish encrustation and feebly assert their subdued antiquity. The chamber over the cella was unfortunately not attended to and it continued to remain exposed for several years more when in 1909, Longhurst closed it up and made it watertight. He also prepared an estimate amounting to Rs. 3,023 for removal of the plaster, restoration of the base to its original condition, and repairs of both sides of the entrance in order to support the brick work hanging above the collapsed porch.[16] On the occasion of the survey and repairs undertaken by Longhurst six drawings and three working plans were also prepared. Of these three drawings including a plan were published in the *Archaeo-*

logical Survey of India Annual Report for the year 1908-09. These are detailed as follows :[17]

Particulars	*Pl. No. in A.S.I.A.R. 1908-09*	*Fig. No. (infra)*
Ground plan with foundation	II	10
Section	III	11
Front elevation	IV	8
Details of North-east Angle	V	9

The remaining three drawings and two working plans could not, inspite of, effort be traced.

The photograph taken in 1909 and reproduced now as Fig. 48 shows that in the course of restoration undertaken in 1905 the plinth mouldings were obliterated altogether while these can be observed in the two photographs taken under the instructions of Cunningham and reproduced now as Fig. 44 and 46. Thanks to the measured drawings—prepared by Ghulam Muhammad, Head draughtsman of the Archaeological Survey, Northern Circle reproduced in Pl. IV and V of the *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report* for 1908-09 and now being reprinted in this book as Figs. 8 and 9—the plinth mouldings were shown with the help of broken lines. It is possible to reconstruct the original elevation with the help of these drawings. It appears that the plinth of these mouldings was restored in the course of the repairs undertaken in 1909.

The entire base and the body of the temple up to the mouldings below the pilasters were then extensively repaired. On this occasion the original features appear to have been generally kept in view. Repair at the upper levels was only sporadic and the loose bricks were mostly cemented to remain where they were found without any attempt at reconstruction.

In 1916-17, urgent repairs of the temple were undertaken but the extent and scope of the work carried out could not be ascertained inspite of the endeavour to secure the relevant details from the archives of the Archaeological Survey of India.[18]

Attention has been paid from time to time to the restoration and maintenance on account of which further deterioration has been arrested.

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7. A.H. Longhurst, quoted by J.Ph. Vogel, *Ibid.*, p. 13.
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9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
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16. A.H. Longhurst, *loc. cit.*, p. 14.
17. J.Ph. Vogel, *loc. cit.*, pp. 5-16.
18. J. Marshall, *A.S.I.A.R.*,1916-17, Vol. I, p. 4.

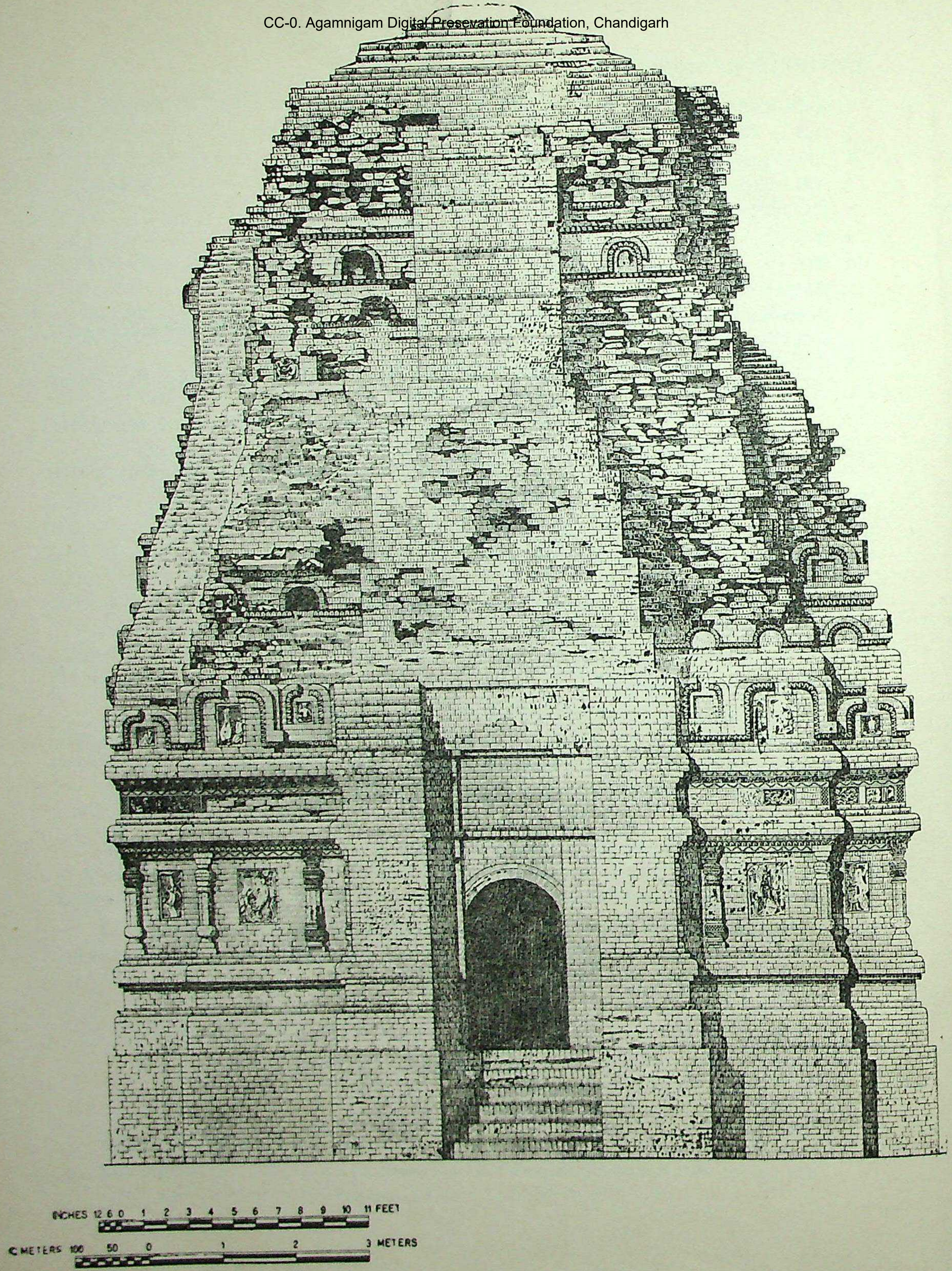
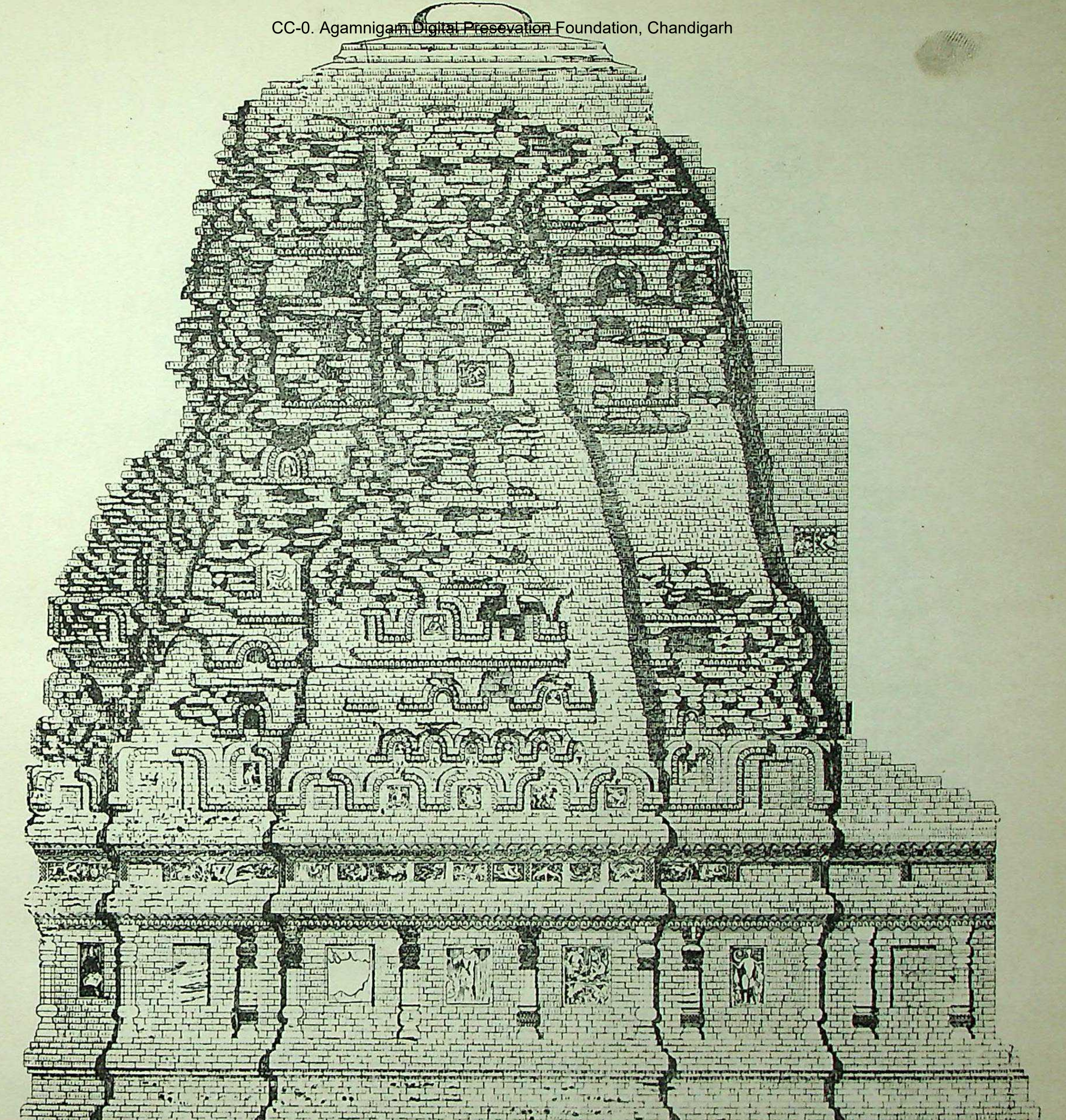

INCHES 12 6 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 FEET
C METERS 100 50 0 1 2 3 METERS

Fig. 4. Measured drawing of east elevation.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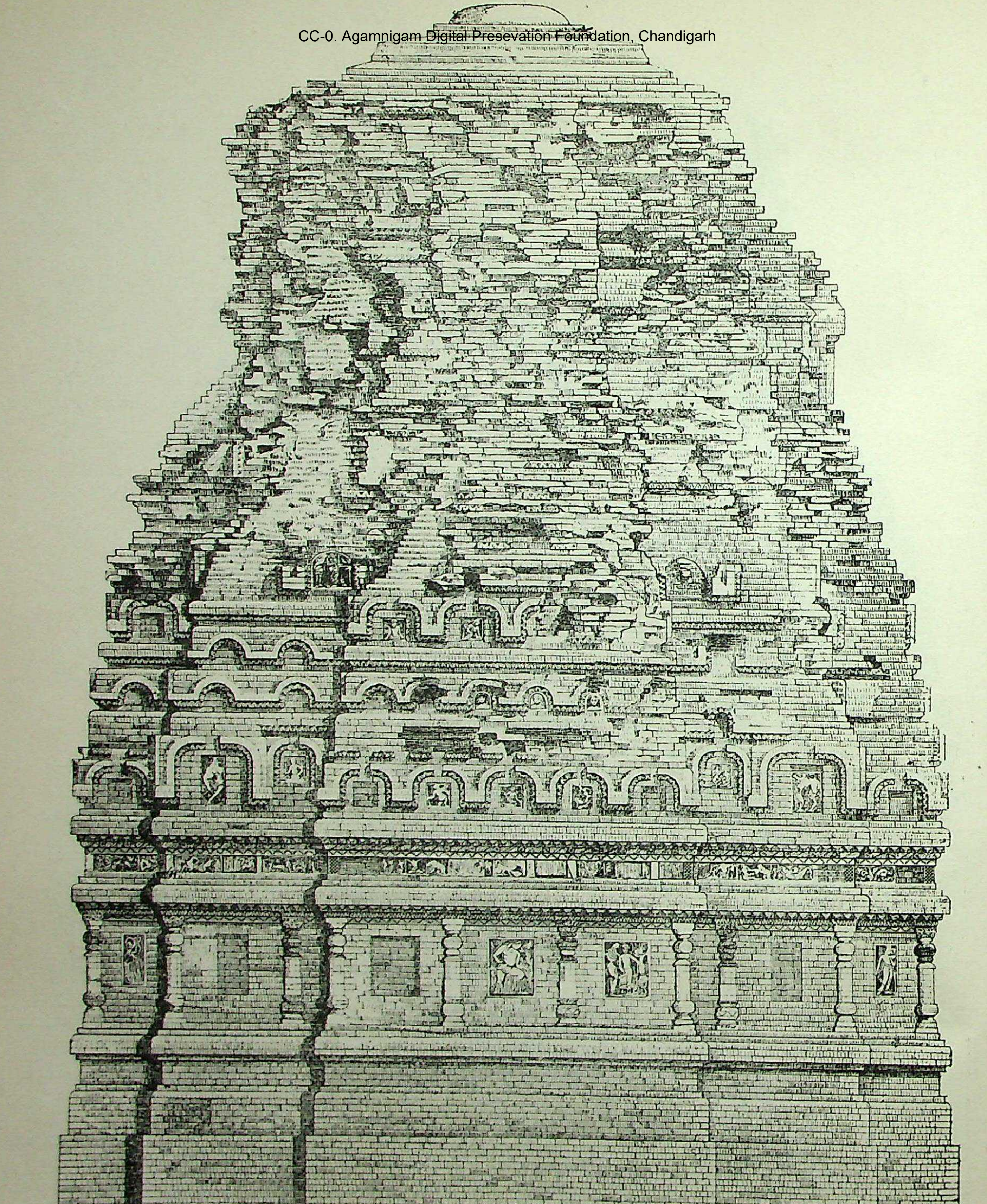
C METERS 100 50 0 1 2 3 METERS

Fig. 5. Measured drawing of south elevation.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CMS 100 50 0 1 2 3 METERS

Fig. 6. Measured drawing of west elevation.

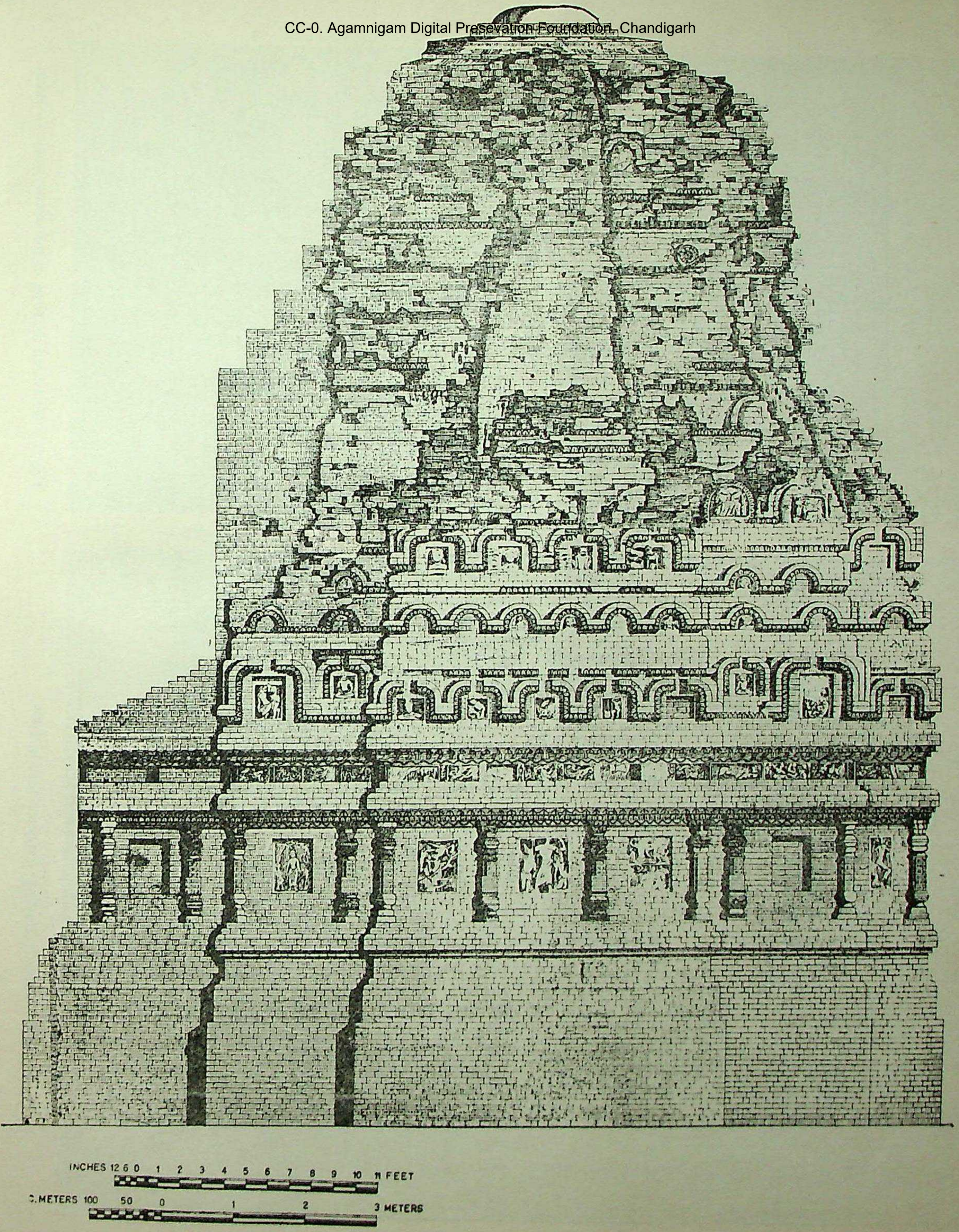

INCHES 12 6 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 FEET
C.METERS 100 50 0 1 2 3 METERS

Fig. 7. Measured drawing of north elevation.

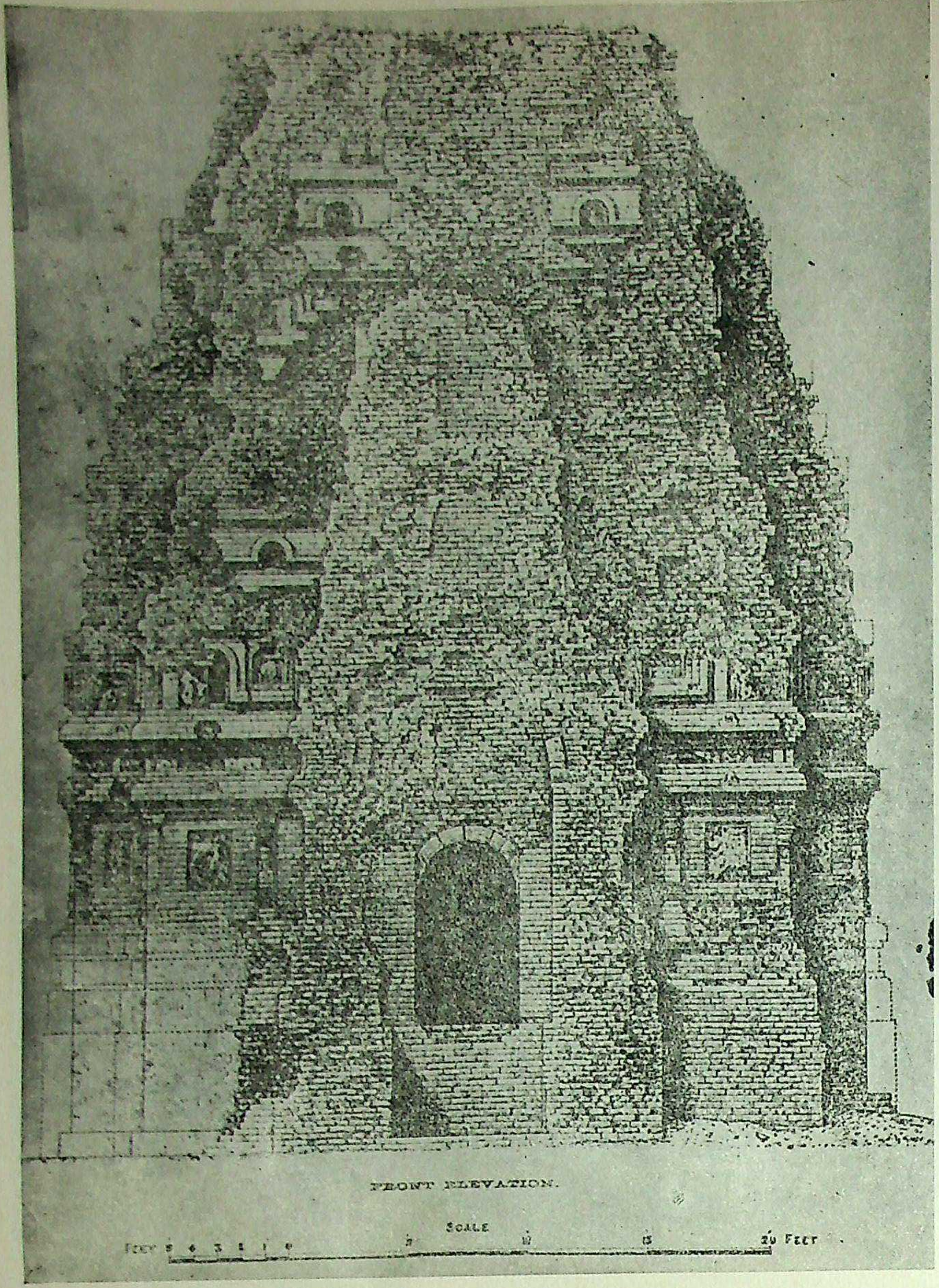

FRONT ELEVATION.
SCALE
FEET 5 4 3 2 1 0 5 10 15 20 FEET

Fig. 8. Measured drawing of eastern face in 1909.

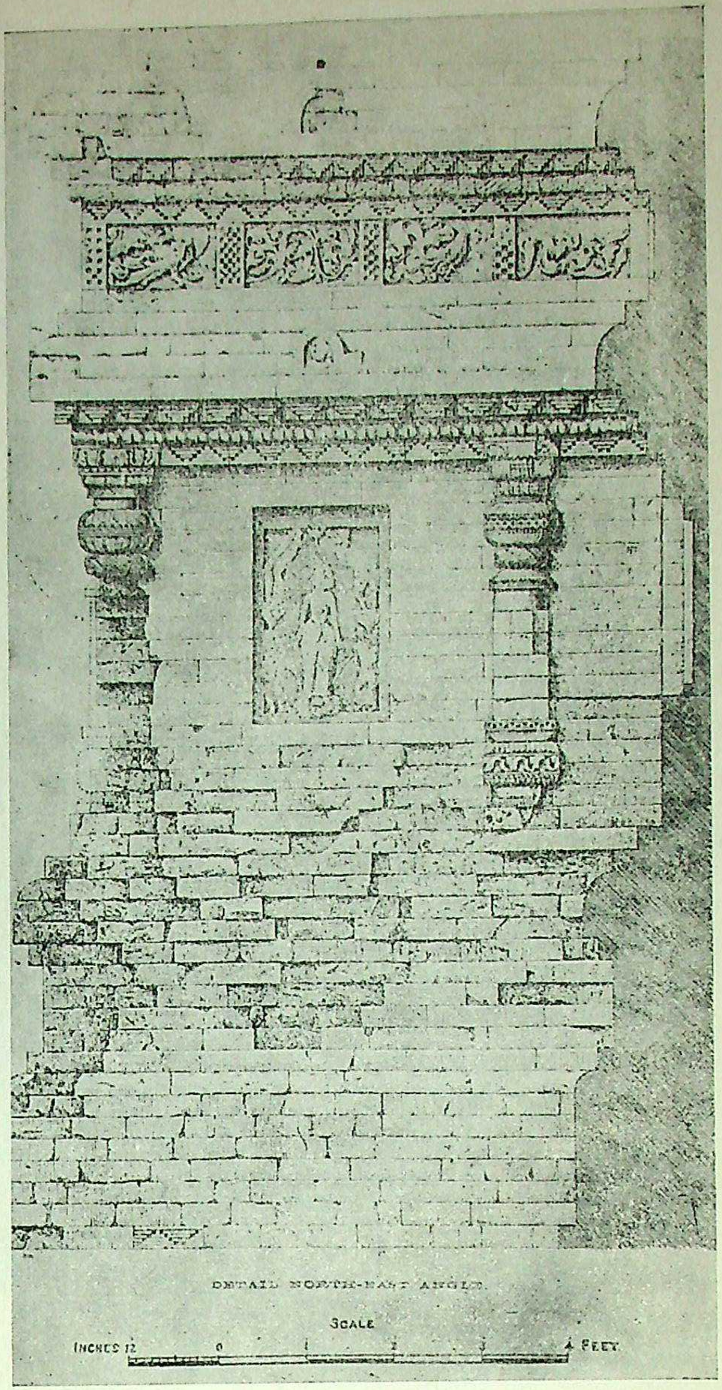
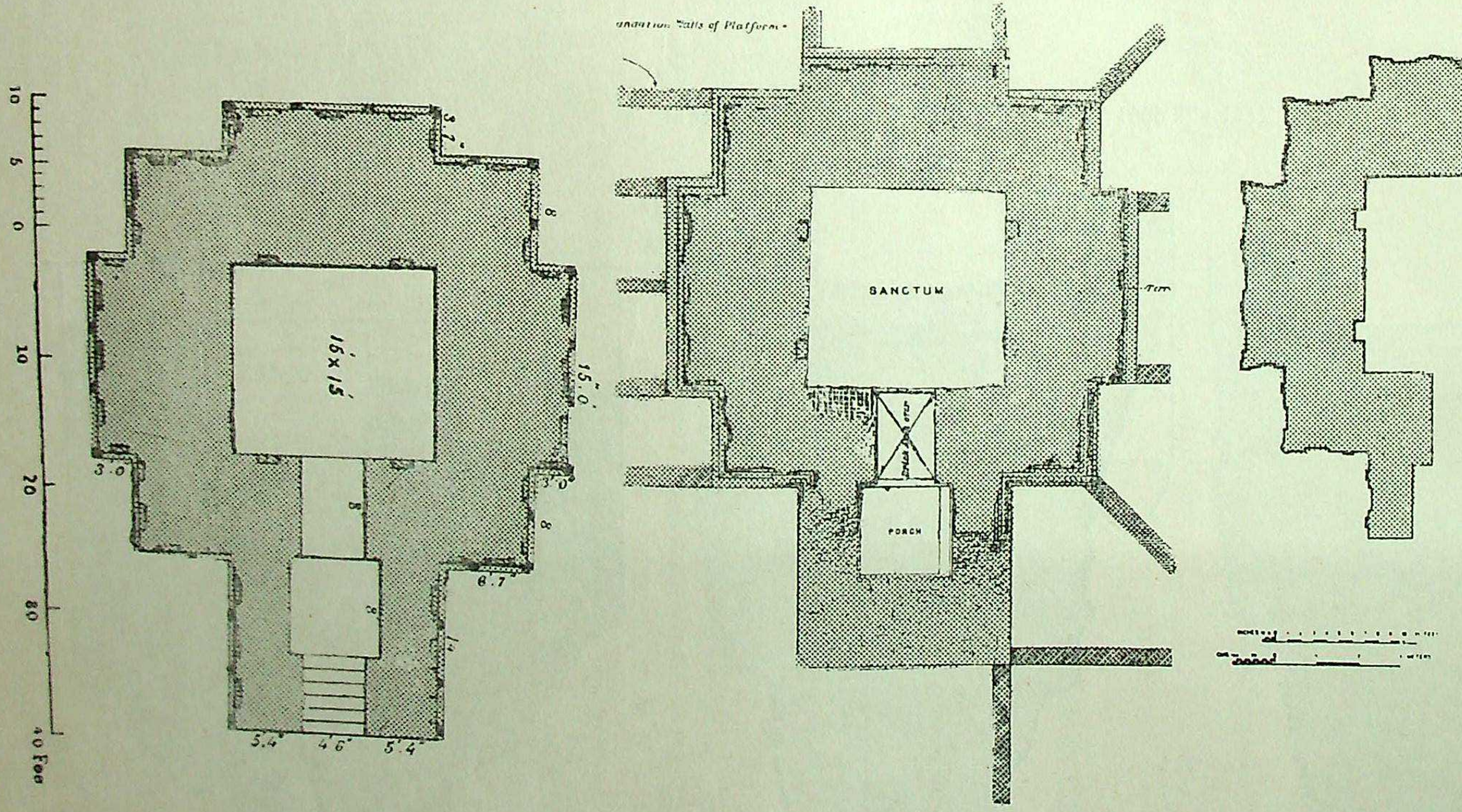

DETAIL NORTH-EAST ANGLE.
SCALE
INCHES 12 0 1 2 3 4 FEET

Fig. 9. Measured drawing of north-east angle in 1909.

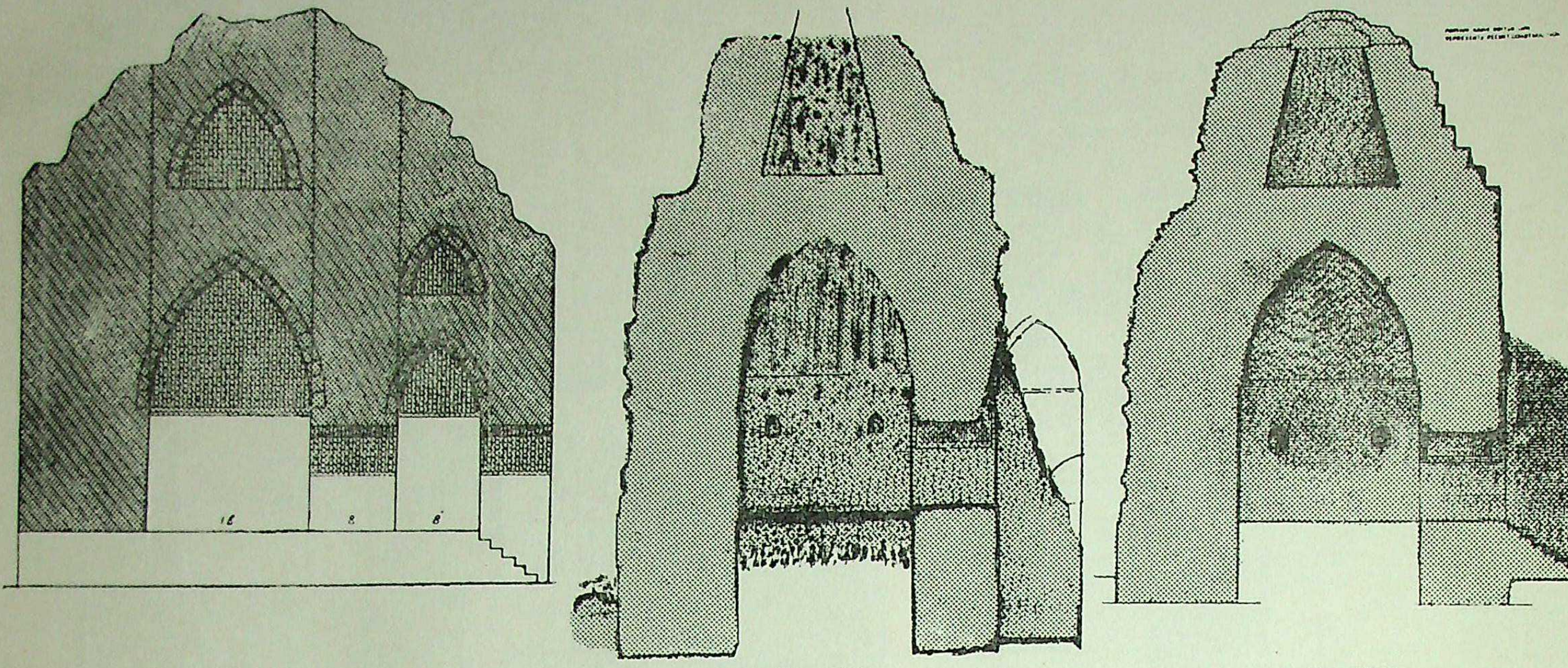

10
5
0
10
20
30
40 Feet
16 x 15
15.0
3.7
3.0
3.0
8
8
8
8
6.7
14
5.4
4.6
5.4
Foundation Walls of Platform
SANCTUM
PORCH

1. 1877

2. 1909

3. 1977

Fig. 10. Comparative plan as in 1877, 1909 and 1977.



1. 1877 2. 1909 3. 1977

Fig. 11. Comparative section as in 1877, 1909 and 1977.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLE

Foundations

Excavations carried out in 1909 showed that the temple rested on an extensive foundation with cell like formations (Pl. II, *A.S.I.A.R*, 1908-09). These constituted a square base, each side of which was about 18.25 m. Perpendicular brick footings branched out towards the centre from a wide brick foundation along the outer boundary. On the north-east and the north-west there were diagonal footings also. The foundation on the southern and western sides was more massive than on the northern and eastern. On the south-western and north-western corners, the footing was also recessed. The vacant spaces were filled with earth.

Plan

The plan (Fig. 10) as well as the section (Fig. 11) made by Cunningham show four distinct areas. In the plan and section prepared during the survey by Vogel and Longhurst (Figs. 10 and 11), the porch containing steps has been omitted and the *ardhamaṇḍapa* has been referred to as porch. In the following discussion it is proposed to refer to the four distinct areas as porch, *ardhamaṇḍapa*, passage and sanctum, or *garbhagṛha*. The porch was the entrance to the *ardhamaṇḍapa* and was provided with a flight of six steps.

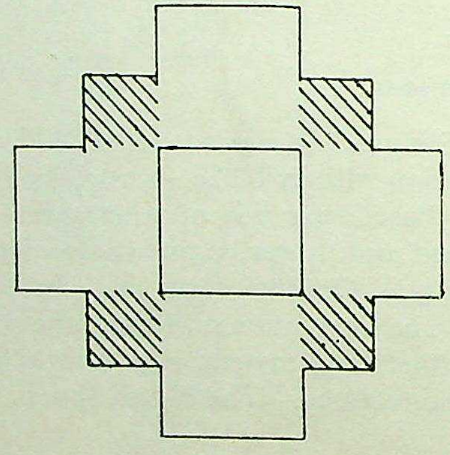
The *ardhamaṇḍapa* was the ante-room, now without a roof, the passage was and is contained in the eastern wall and the sanctum is the inside of the main temple.

The plan of the temple can be considered at three levels, namely at the foundation, the ground or the temple floor. Unless otherwise indicated, it has been described at the level of the ground around the temple which is paved with bricks and fenced.

The temple is built upon a square plan with double-recessed corners. The extent of the cut in each corner for the purpose of the recess is about three metres. When the temple was first discovered in 1877 and subsequently photographed, the base was found to be greatly depleted (Fig. 46). In the course of earlier centuries partly as a result of natural decay and partly on account of pilferage of the loose bricks from lower courses, the base had become narrower than the upper part. Consequently extensive restoration of this part was necessary.

Recessed Plan

The temple of Bhītargāon represents one of the earliest examples of a ground plan with recesses. Recessing has no functional value in relation to the inner space. On the contrary, it creates additional structural problems. Owing to the reduction of the thickness on the corners, the walls are not of uniform strength and do not provide equal support for the superstructure. Consequently the structure has to be so designed that the recessed areas shown by diagonal lines in illustration A are not subjected to excessive load. In the case of a structure with a flat roof recessing would be contra-indicated on aesthetic as well as structural grounds. Let us take the aesthetic consideration first. A certain amount of asymmetry is created by recessing, since the reference area for decoration becomes isolated in each recess and, therefore, needs larger margins than would be required if the entire wall face were continuous. A temple with a flat roof is, therefore, unlikely to have recesses in its outer walls. On the other hand, recessing becomes necessary if a *śikhara* has to be constructed. A *śikhara* on a square body would be pyramidal or at best domical with squinches. It cannot be invested with the same architectural grace which the sharp vertical lines of breaks imposed by recessing provide. The elevation becomes more distinctive when recesses are introduced and the incorporation of a number of facets lends variety to the features. It may, therefore, be safe to conclude that if the plan is strictly rectangular, non-polygonal and unrecessed, the likelihood is that there was no aspiring tendency in the roof structure as a whole. On the other hand, if there are recesses in the plan, it is almost certain that the monument did not have a flat roof but had a pointed one in the form of a *śikhara*.



A. Recessed plan.

While very few structures of the Gupta period or of earlier date are extant, foundations and remains of plinths of numerous monuments of the same period have been unearthed. An examination of these would provide a guide to the evolution of the *śikhara*. If the recessing was shallow and limited, the *śikhara* is likely to have been rudimentary and, in all probability, only slightly taller than the body of the structure.

On the other hand, where the recesses are deep and multiple, the *śikhara* is likely to have been high with prominent facets.

It is interesting to observe in this connection that the basal structures of the following *chaitya*-halls and temples of the Gupta and pre-Gupta periods provide clues to the existence of recesses :

Location	Particulars of structures having recesses.
Śravastī	Temple No. 1[1]. *Stūpa* No. 5, which was most probably a *chaitya*-hall in its earlier stages.[2] Temple No. 2[3].

Later monuments with a *śikhara* surmounted by *āmalakas*, have invariably been erected on a recessed plan. Recesses are thus closely interlinked with the elevation of the building. For the sake of record, the measurements of the plan at ground level have been given below along with those of Cunningham. The rebate in the wall nearest to the central facade has been treated as the first recess, and the one further away as the second recess.

Particulars		*Cunningham's*[4] *measurements*		*Measurements as now*	*Variation*
		Feet and inches	*Metres*	*Metres*	*Metres*
(1)		(2)		(3)	(4)
East					
Second recess—north		3-0	0.91	0.91	
First recess—north		6-7	2.01	2.01	
Abutment		5-4	1.63	1.28	
Entrance		4-6	1.37	2.28	
Abutment		5-4	1.63	1.28	
First recess—south		6-7	2.01	2.01	
Second recess—south		3-0	0.91	0.97	
	Total	34-4	10.47	10.74	+0.27
South					
Second recess—east		14-0	4.27	2.45	
First recess—east		8-0	2.44	2.04	
Central wall		15-0	4.57	4.92	
First recess—west		8-0	2.44	2.04	
Second recess—west		3-7	1.09	0.98	
	Total	48-7	14.81	12.43	—2.38

Contd.

(1)	(2)		(3)	(4)
West				
Second recess—south	3-0	0.91	0.98	
First recess—south	6-7	2.01	2.01	
Central wall	15-2	4.63	4.92	
First recess—north	6-7	2.01	2.01	
Second recess—north	3-0	0.91	0.92	
Total	34-4	10.47	10.84	+0.37
North				
Second recess—west	3-7	1.09	0.98	
First recess—west	8-0	2.44	2.03	
Central wall	15-0	4.57	5.02	
First recess—east	8-0	2.44	2.02	
Second recess—east	14-0	4.27	2.29	
Total	48-7	14.81	12.34	—2.47

The porch was included in Cunningham's drawing but has now been excluded which accounts for the difference of about two and a half metres on the south and north faces.

The porch, *ardhamaṇḍapa*, passage, and sanctum will now be described. In each case it is proposed to deal with the floor, walls, outer decoration on walls, inner mural treatment, ceiling and roof in the same order.

Porch

The floor of the porch must have been level with the surrounding ground. It contained steps leading into the *ardhamaṇḍapa*. No trace of floor, walls and roof is now left.

When Cunningham first visited the site, the remains of the porch as well as the *ardhamaṇḍapa* could be seen. These were also briefly described by him. Within a few years of Cunningham's visit both the porch as well as the *ardhamaṇḍapa* collapsed and in the course of restorations made in the first decade of this century the porch was altogether eliminated. No trace of it, therefore, is left. Cunningham had written that there was an arched roof over the porch leading into the *ardhamaṇḍapa*[5] with bricks placed edge to edge instead of face to face. The semi-circular arch which covered the porch had already collapsed by 1877 but some of the bricks remained to show that the principle employed in its construction was exactly the same as that of the passage between the *ardhamaṇḍapa* and the cella. This can be observed also in figure 44. The porch has not been in existence for almost a century. The report in an article published in the *Marg* in 1969 to the effect that "some bricks on the outer arch are still *in situ*"[6] is, therefore, not correct.

Ardhamaṇḍapa

Cunningham refers to the *ardhamaṇḍapa* as ante-room, and gives its dimension as 8 ft×7 ft 3 in. which works out to 2.44×2.21 m.[7] The unroofed space between the two abutments on the east now measures 2.28 m × 2.34 m at the floor level. This is the area which was originally occupied by the ante-room or *ardhamaṇḍapa*. The floor of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* must have been at the same level as that of the *garbhagṛha* but no trace of it now exists; it is now part of the ground and paved with modern bricks uniformly with the platform which is enclosed by a fencing and steps have been introduced in it (Fig. 11.3). The two walls on the south and north stand but the eastern wall which originally contained the entrance does not exist. The outer surface of these two walls is decorated with mouldings, pilasters and panels in the same way as the walls of the main structure. The inner surface is plain.

The remains of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* can be seen in the photograph taken in 1877 (Fig. 44). The topmost part had already collapsed, but the lower courses give a clear indication that the structure tapered upwards. The remanants of this original structure were after its collapse dressed flat without providing any span over the two projecting walls of the original *ardhamaṇḍapa*.

Cunningham who had the opportunity to see it, observed :

"A flight of six steps leads up to a small ante-room, 8 feet by 7 feet 3 inches, from which a passage, 8 feet in length, opens into the main room. The two passages are roofed with semi-circular vaults, and the two rooms with pointed domes. These vaults are built after the Hindu fashion with the bricks placed edge to edge, instead of face to face. The outer semi-circular arch, which covered the entrance steps, has fallen down; but some of the bricks still remain to show that its construction was exactly the same as that of the semi-circular arch between the two rooms".[8]

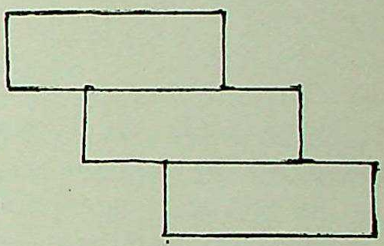
Longhurst,[9] who examined the structure in 1909, was of the view that the collapse of the roof above the *ardhamaṇḍapa* resulted from the removal of the stone door-frame at the entrance, the lintel of which acted as support for the roof. There was no such door-frame when Cunningham saw the temple in 1877 and in the course of subsequent restorations and investigations which involved partial excavation of the area around the base no trace of a door-frame was found. The roofs of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* and *garbhagṛha* were domed. As has been mentioned already the covered steps or porch as well as the *ardhamaṇḍapa* do no longer exist. Now the steps leading into the temple have been provided in part of the space which was originally occupied by the *ardhamaṇḍapa*. Cunningham conceived the outer construction of the roof over the *ardhamaṇḍapa* as being continuous with and forming part of the main *śikhara*. On the other hand in the section and east elevation drawn in 1909 and included as Pls. III and IV of the *Annual-Report* for 1908-09 (Fig. 11), the linear reconstruction indicates that the *śikhara* of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* was considered to stand by itself and was not assumed to be part of the main roof over the *garbhagṛha*. This may lead to the conclusion that the *ardhamaṇḍapa* had a small *śikhara* of its own. This assumption receives support from the existence at the time of Cunningham's visit of hollowed out space in the roofing above the *ardhamaṇḍapa* also. It is, however, also possible that this reconstruction in drawing may as well be a conjecture, and it is quite probable that Cunningham's interpretation was correct.

Passage into Sanctum

The passage from the *ardhamaṇḍapa* into the *garbhagṛha* was and is contained in the eastern wall and also partly projects beyond it. Now it is 2.35 m. Cunningham measured it as 8 ft or 2.44 m.[10] The difference of 9 cm may be due to alterations effected in the course of restoration. The width of the passage was not marked by Cunningham but based on the scale given on the plan it is likely to have been the same as now that is 1.35 m. The floor of the passage from the *ardhamaṇḍapa* into the *garbhagṛha* is at the same level as that of the sanctum. The walls of the passage are the same as the eastern wall of the main temple. There is no decoration on the inside. The ceiling has been restored with modern bricks. There is no separate roof since the passage has been made in the wall itself. However, the principle on which the opening was supported needs a fairly extensive discussion in order to remove certain misconceptions introduced by Longhurst and even recently in an article published in 1969 in the *Marg.*

In his report written in 1909[11] Longhurst stated that the circular arch over the entrance needed repairs in order to support the mass of decayed bricks over it. He added that stone beams or lintels were originally placed at the front of the brick arch, both inside and outside the entrance to the sanctum. To prove this he stated that just above the doorway on both sides there were large cavities which showed conclusively that stone had been used. He derived support for this view from that fact that in a temple built much later in the village of Behtā, two miles (3.2 km) from Bhītargāon he discovered stone jambs and lintels and assumed that these had came from Bhītargāon. Not only this, he also was of the opinion that the stone images of Śiva, Pārvatī, Śeṣasāyī Viṣṇu, Lakṣmaṇa and Gaṇeśa in this 18th century temple all came from Bhītargāon. There are certain basic contradictions in these assumptions which need to be pointed out. There were only two passages. These were the entrance from the porch into the *ardhamaṇḍapa* and from the *ardhamaṇḍapa* into the sanctum. Cunningham is the only one who observed the porch of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* and he stated very clearly that this porch had an arched roof. The next entrance led from the *ardhamaṇḍapa* into the *garbhagṛha* and here again Cunningham, Vogel as well as Longhurst, each of them have stated that there was an arched ceiling. Longhurst was of the view that there were lintels at the entrance into the *ardhamaṇḍapa* and again at the front and back of the passage into the sanctum making a total of three sets of stone jambs and lintels. At the same time he also does not contradict the description given by Cunningham as well as Vogel that this passage had an arched roof. The passage is 2.35 m long and its ceiling was in the form of an arch on which the weight of the superstructure rested. Even if it is assumed for the sake of argument that stone lintels had been placed in the front and also at the back of the passage, the question arises how the whole span, 2.35 by 1.35 m was supported ? Longhurst's hypothesis does not offer any clue to the solution of this problem. Moreover a stone lintel cannot be fitted into an arched roof and there appears to be some confusion in his conception of the use of stone lintels.

The temple at Behtā is a very late monument for it has a cusped arch and fluted columns common in the later Mughal period and a large quantity of stone has been used in its construction. By the time this temple was erected or subsequently rebuilt the use of stone had become widespread, and there is no reason to assume that the stone members as well as the images discovered in and around this shrine originally belonged to Bhītargāon. The following occurs in an article written by Mulk Raj Anand in *Marg* of 1969. "The arch in the front opening is formed by the gradual overlaping of the bricks. The voussoirs are placed end to end, not face to face as was frequently done in Europe. This kind of corbelling was extended to a subtler holding of edges of brick in rings which formed the arch. And this is the method followed in the dome of the plain inner chamber."[12] There is an obvious contradiction between the first two sentences. Voussoirs are stones which form part of a true arch or vault usually having the sides slightly inclined towards each other.[13] In the quotation the word has apparently been used to refer to the long sides of a brick. Now, if the bricks are placed end to end, no corbel can result. In corbelling it is necessary for one brick to rest on another and then extend forth beyond the lower brick as shown in the illustration B. This cannot be combined with any arrangement in which bricks are placed header to header or stretcher to stretcher.



B. Corbel Arrangement.

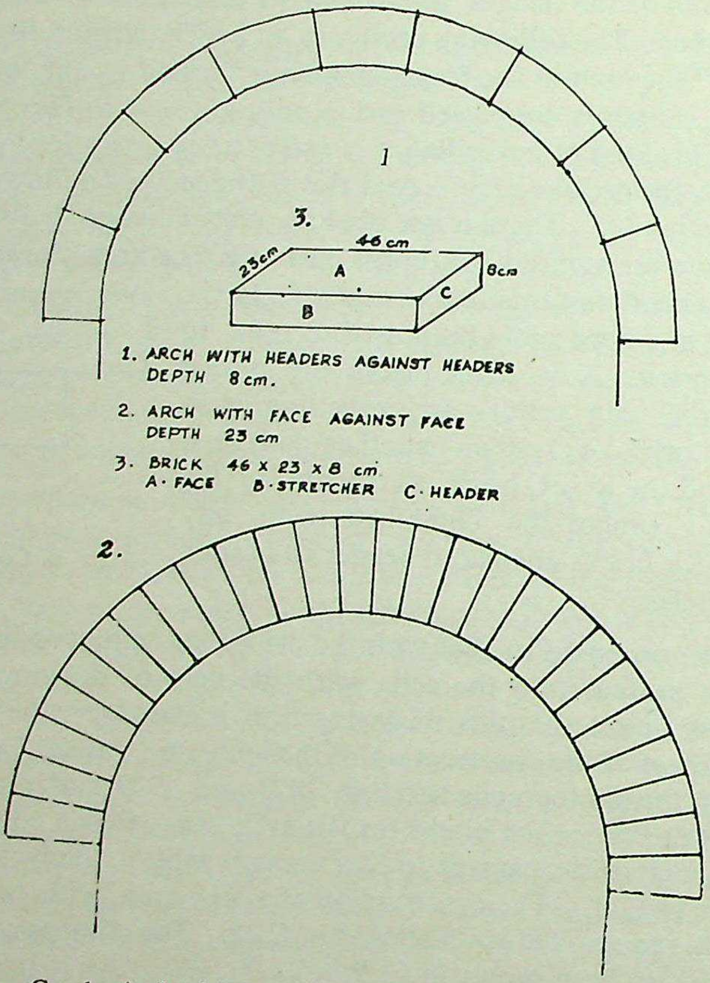
It is, therefore, proposed to deal with the principles employed in the construction of the arch of the passage into the cella with the help of drawings. It needs to be admitted at the very outset that this reconstruction is based on the version given by Cunningham in respect of the construction of the arch, the varacity of which there is no reason to doubt, the photographs taken in 1877 and 1909 and the measured drawing made in the latter year. The bricks for the arch were laid on edge to edge and not face to face. The arch of the passage to the sanctum as it is likely to have originally been built is shown in C. 1. The construction of a true arch, with bricks of the same dimension laid face against face is illustrated in C. 2. The dimensions of a brick on the same scale have also been shown in C. 3.

The basic principle of the stability of an arch is that blocks forming it uphold themselves by mutual pressure, and the entire arch is maintained in equilibrium by means of the resistance of the supports. The blocks need to be in the shape of voussoirs. But where bricks of uniform size are used, the gap at the extrados would be greater than at the intrados and mortar as firm and stable as brick has to be applied to fill this space. In spite of such bonding, were it available, the absence of a keystone would still remain a drawback. Without a keystone even an arch constructed with bricks on edge would be weaker than one with a keystone. In an arch formed by stretchers or headers the pressure of the superstructure would be transmitted to the narrow ring which would collapse owing to the bond not being strong. Even where a number of such concentric rings are used the same weakness would persist because such arches suffered from a structural defect. Since no bond or stress was created in the

5258

absence of a key-stone or juxtaposition of the bricks face to face and only mud mortar was used these bricks were liable to work loose and fall down.

Arches not provided with a voussoir keystone thus suffered from a double weakness—the lack of depth in the ring and inadequate bond owing to the fact that the width at the extrados particularly at the centre was greater than that at the intrados. The arches at Bhītargāon were, therefore, not true arches and were bound to collapse under stress.


1
3.
46 cm
23cm
8cm
A
B
C
1. ARCH WITH HEADERS AGAINST HEADERS
DEPTH 8 cm.
2. ARCH WITH FACE AGAINST FACE
DEPTH 23 cm
3. BRICK 46 X 23 X 8 cm
A · FACE B · STRETCHER C · HEADER
2.

C. 1. Arch with headers against headers.
2. Arch with face against face.
3. Bricks illustrating headers and stretchers.

Garbhagṛha

We come now to the sanctum. It is square each side being 4.62 m. Cunningham gave the measurement of 15×15 ft (4.57 metre square). The difference is nominal and is likely to have resulted from alterations effected during restoration. The floor is now paved with modern bricks. It is 1.49 m higher than the brick platform around the temple which represents the ground level.

Walls

Cunningham had estimated the width of the walls at 8 ft (2.44 m).[14] In fact these are slightly thicker though not uniform on all the sides. At the floor level these are on an average 3.14 m wide in the central area and 2.16 m at the recesses.

Right from above the third row of panels there is a taper in the course of bricks in order to form the *śikhara*. The uppermost portion has been almost entirely restored. The inner height of the ceiling is 7.59 m. The thickness of the masonry above the vault is 1.52 m at the central point. Above the sanctum there is hollow space 3.76 m in height in the form of a trapezoid cube the base of which is 3.41 m square. At a height of 14.36 m from the ground level there is a cover in the shape of an inverted bowl which seals this hollow chamber. The height of this structure is 1.05 m.

Outer decoration on walls

There is a convex moulding in the seventh course of bricks 0.46 m above the floor level. This moulding consists of two courses of bricks, one rounded and the other rectangular but receded. Four more courses of bricks are laid in the same line but a few centimetres further receded from the moulding. The subsequent two courses project forward so as to come into line with the moulding below and constitute the base of the first cornice.

This cornice is formed by five courses of bricks of which three are projected and two receded. On this the pilasters rest. A few courses higher up, large terracotta panels have been inserted, all of which have an iconographic representation as subject matter. The pilasters not only serve the purpose of subdividing the space into oblong areas but also provide vertical frames for the large terracotta panels. Just as the pilasters provide the frame on either side of the panels, a second cornice constitutes the continuous upper frame in the same manner as the first cornice serves as the lower frame. This second cornice is composed of four courses of progressively projecting bricks. The first course is made up of bricks with chequers forming a stepped pattern (Fig. 12.13). The second course has bricks decorated with stylized lotus petals (Fig. 12.5). The third course consists of bricks formed into steps on either side by carving out rectangular strips (Fig. 13.39). The second abacus of pilasters is in the same line as that of the bricks with chequers for making a stepped pattern. In between the two cornices the pilasters as well as the panels compete for attention. The panels need attention in regard to their location and also the subject matter; the pilasters for their carved geometrical designs which are unique in the entire range of Indian terracotta art and the like of which is not to be found anywhere else in the sub-continent. Five courses of plain bricks are laid above these three courses of decorative bricks. Of these the first three are projected and the next two receded. Then comes a ring course of continuous series of panels which have decorative motifs.

As upper frame of the ring course of panels there are again three courses of decorative bricks which constitute the second composite ring course of ornamental bricks. The first and third courses are the same as in the lower one. The middle course consists of a variety of cord motifs with tablet flowers (Figs. 40-43). Five courses of plain bricks are again placed above them. Then come *gavākṣas* with panels inserted in them. As the *Śikhara* recedes the number of niches is also reduced.

Cunningham's description of the main features of the elevation was very graphic and bears repetition. He says :

> "Above the upper cornice there is, first, a line of square beaded panels with hood moulding containing generally half length figures. Next come two lines of small round beaded panels, also with hood mouldings, containing heads projecting boldly forwards. Then comes another cornice with another line of square beaded panels with hood moulding; then five more lines of small panels with heads. As each successive course is retired serveral inches, the width of the temple gradually decreases towards the top, until in each face of the building there is room for only one niche. Above this point, at a height of 44 feet, the top of the temple is altogether gone."[15]

The walls upto the level of the floor of the sanctum are not embellished with any panels or decorative bricks. If there were any ornamental devices, these have disappeared entirely. In a photograph of the north-eastern corner taken in 1909 (Fig. 51) there is one brick with square incisions making a wavy pattern in course No. 17, two bricks away from the north-eastern corner of the second recess. This brick appears to have been picked up and inserted in the process of restoration from amongst the numerous plain and ornamental bricks which were either lying around or were dug up.

During one of the earlier restorations the temple was plastered from the ground level upto the top of the large panels. A photograph revealing the garish result is reproduced in Fig. 48. This plaster was later removed and the result can be seen in Fig. 49. These pictures bear testimony to the incorrect early restoration, a result of which was the obliteration of all the mouldings which lend beauty to the structure. This error appears to have been discovered subsequently and the mouldings and recesses were then restored in 1909 but we have no means to verify the degree to which these correspond to the original.

Vogel stated that there were two periods of brick architecture in the North—one during the rule of the Guptas examplified by a single monument, the temple at Bhītargāon, and the other from the 8th to 12th centuries. To the latter he attributes the temples at Bahuā, Tīndūlī, Kurārī, Saton, Thithaurā in the Fatehpur district as well as Paraulī, Rār and Simbhuā in the Kanpur district. In connection with these later monuments, he says, "The buildings are, without exception, in a more or less advanced state of decay, and our aim must be to prevent further deterioration without detracting from their picturesque appearance. The temples in question were all built of brick laid in mud mortar. In all probability they were originally covered with a thin layer of plaster. It is obvious that, as soon as the core became exposed, a process of decay was bound to set in far more rapid than in the case of stone temples."[16] This statement has led to the conjecture made recently in an article in a journal that the

Bhītargāon temple also had a layer of plaster on it.[17] There is no evidence whatsoever for such speculation. Only in the course of shoddy restoration in the beginning of this century, was plaster applied to the lower part of the temple, but this disfigurement was soon discovered and removed. To quote Vogel again :

> "In December 1907 I found the body of the temple covered upto the cornice with a thick layer of white plaster neatly finished off at the corners. It is needless to say that the coat of plaster, without adding in any degree to the strength of the structure, produced by its glaring freshness a painful contrast with the subdued antiquity of the decayed brickwork."[18]

Inner mural treatment

The inner walls of the sanctum are devoid of any decoration except for four small niches in the wall at the height of 2.04 m from the floor two on the north, and the same number on the south. The brick work of the walls has been strengthened by the application of cement mortar at joints by a process known as pointing.

Ceiling

The sanctum has a pointed ceiling as may be observed in Fig. 11. This is built of brick laid in corbelled courses. The centre of the ceiling measures perpendicularly 7.59 m from the floor. Above this ceiling is brick work the thickness of which at the centre is 1.52 m. There is a hollow chamber above the roof which is trapezoid in shape. The height of this chamber is 3.76 m. In the beginning of the century when the work of restoration was started it was found that this second vault had become open at the top, on account of which there was seepage of water causing damage to the entire structure. It was, therefore, sealed with masonry and is now inaccessible.

Roof

In his conjectural drawing of the temple at Bhītargāon, Percy Brown has surmounted the top of the *śikhara* with a barrel roof.[19] Another conjecture offered was that it may have been decorated with an *āmalaka.*[20]

In 1878, Cunningham wrote :

> "Thirty years ago the upper part of the temple was intact, but a few years before the mutiny (the people say *do-char*, or 'three' years), the spire was struck by lightning, when the upper part was thrown down, and the upper room became exposed to the sky."[21]

It would be observed that he has used the word spire. It is, therefore, more likely that there was neither an *āmalaka* nor a barrel roof but a simple spire. Had there been an *āmalaka* or any other specific formation of the top of the *śikhara*, it is unlikely that it may have missed Cunningham's notice, and probing intellect.

So far no temple with a *śikhara* prior in date to that of Bhītargāon has been discovered. All other earlier or contemporary shrines have flat roofs. There are, however, representations in sculpture of earlier temples which had high and pointed roofs. These may briefly be mentioned as under :

Period	*Provenance of sculptural evidence*	*Present location*	*Description*
1st-2nd *C.* A.D.	Kumrahār	Patna Museum	Terracotta plaque representing straight edged *śikhara* temple.[22]
1st-2nd *C.* A.D.	Mathura	Mathura Museum, No. J. 24	Representation of *śikhara* type temple. Detail of a railing pillar.[23]
1st-2nd *C.* A.D.	,,	Mathura Museum, No. M. 3	*Śikhara* type temple on a *toraṇa* architrave.[24]
1st-2nd *C.* A.D.	,,	State Museum Lucknow, No. B. 84	Railing pillar showing two conical structures, one overlapping the other with pointed *śikharas* which are at least twice as high as the body.[25]

It is not possible to agree with any of the two propositions mentioned by Percy Brown. This temple and its architecture is unique, and comparable examples do not exist. There is a gap of many centuries between this temple and subsequent brick shrines elsewhere in India. Neither in the formation of the upper parts of the temple nor in the finds excavated around it, was there any clue to the actual form of the top. It is not possible, therefore, to assume that there was either a barrel roof or an *āmalaka* crowning the shrine.

At present the total height of the temple is 15.41 m, of which the floor is at 1.49 m; the body of the temple is 4.11 m high and the *śikhara* 9.81 m. On a broad estimation, the height of the base is about one-tenth of the total height and of the remaining the *śikhara* is more than twice the height of the body.

The spire, *āmalaka* or even a barrel roof could not have been more than a few feet in height. Today the temple is 15.41 m high measuring from the platform level around the temple. This works out to 50 ft 7 in. It appears, therefore, that the height of 70 feet (21.33 m) mentioned by Percy Brown is due to some misunderstanding.[26] Equally inadvertent appears to be a recent description of the temple in which the height of 70 feet (21.33 m) has been repeated.[27]

The total height as determined by Cunningham was about 44 ft or 13.41 m. At present it is 15.41 m or 50 ft 7 in. as the result of the addition of a cover in the form of an inverted bowl in the centre which was built in the course of restoration in order to protect the upper hollow vault. The addition to the height made by this new structure is 1.05 m. This accounts partly for the disparity between the two calculations; the remaining error may be due to inaccurate measurement or changes in the ground level in the course of successive repairs.

The vertical measurement of the levels at which the different features occur on the outside vary in a small degree from face to face. These are shown in the following table as they occur on the southern face (Except for S. No. 16, 19 and 21) starting from the ground level, which is the same as that of the brick platform around the temple.

S. No.	*Particulars*	*Height from ground level in metres*
1.	Floor	1.49
2.	First moulding above floor level	1.95
3.	Second moulding above floor level	2.40
4.	Base of pilasters	2.88
5.	Base of first row of panels	3.25
6.	Top of pilasters	4.28
7.	Base of first cornice of ornamental bricks	4.43
8.	Base of second row of panels	4.80
9.	Base of second cornice of ornamental bricks	5.05
10.	Base of third row of panels	5.68
11.	Base of fourth row of panels	6.30
12.	Base of fifth row of panels	6.60
13.	Base of sixth row of panels	6.90
14.	Base of seventh row of panels	7.40
15.	Base of eighth row of panels	7.75
16.	Base of ninth row of panels (west and north faces)	8.32
17.	Base of tenth row of panels	8.75
18.	Base of eleventh row of panels	9.60
19.	Base of twelfth row of panels (east face)	10.60
20.	Base of thirteenth row of panels	10.80
21.	Base of fourteenth row of panels (north face)	11.90

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6. R. Nath, Bhītargāon : The Technique of Architecture, *Marg*, Vol. XXII, No. 2, March 1969, pp. 24-35 esp. p. 27.
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11. A.H. Longhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
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24. *Ibid.*, p. 232, Pl. XIX-69-A.
25. N.P. Joshi, *Life in Ancient Uttarapatha*, Varanasi, 1967, p. 48, illustration on p. 45, Fig. 120.
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CHAPTER III

ARCHITECTURAL ORNAMENTATION—DECORATIVE BRICKS AND PILASTERS

Decorative bricks are incorporated in the outer face of the walls of the temple and in the pilasters. Since the motifs used in the pilasters far outnumber those which ornament the underside of cornices and the ring course, it is proposed to first narrate the features of the pilasters.

There are a total of 28 pilasters which mark out the frames in the first row of panels. Of these 10 have been replaced altogether in the course of restoration, 15 have been partially repaired with plain terracotta components and there are only three which are more or less intact. The location of pilasters has been indicated in Fig. 14. The corner pilasters are projected on two sides. The components of these pilasters are, therefore, decorated on both sides. On the other hand a smaller area of the members of the wall pilasters is ornamented. These are distributed as follows (Numbers refer to the serials entered in Fig. 14).

Location of wall pilasters		*Location of corner pilasters*	
East	3 26	South-east	4 6
South	1 2 5 7 8 10	South-west	9 11 13
West	12 14 15 17	North-west	16 18 20
North	19 21 22 24 27 28	North-east	23 25
Total	18		10

Of the 28 pilasters now in existence ten (No. 1, 2, 4, 6, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18 and 28) have been restored almost entirely and replaced by plain bricks shaped to match the form of those extant. In none of these is any portion of the old carved member left. Since the corners of the temple were restored to a greater degree than other parts, the pilasters on the corners have, in some cases been replaced entirely and in others rebuilt to a considerable extent utilising such of the members as were still *in situ* in 1905-09 or available at the site. Of the ten corner pilasters, six have been entirely replaced by plain ones, and of the 18 pilasters in between only four have been completely restored. By looking at the pilasters one can observe that in many of them plain members appear in place of ornamented ones. The plain portions are those which were substituted in place of decorated parts as the latter had either crumbled or fallen off. Only three pilasters, nos. 3, 12 and 21 have all the members intact. In the rest many parts have been replaced. Particulars of pilasters which still retain some of the original members are as follows :

Pilaster No.	*Pedestal*	*Capital*	*Abacus*
3.	Extant	Extant	Extant
5.	Partly restored	Extant	Extant
7.	Partly restored	Extant	Extant
8.	Mostly restored	Extant	Extant
9.	Entirely restored	Partly restored	Partly restored
10.	Partly restored	Extant	Extant
12.	Extant	Extant	Extant
14.	Partly restored	Extant	Extant
17.	Partly restored	Extant	Extant
19.	Partly restored	Extant	Extant
20.	Entirely retored	Partly restored	Extant
21.	Extant	Extant	Extant
22.	Entirely restored	Extant	Extant
23.	Entirely restored	Extant	Extant
24.	Partly restored	Extant	Extant
25.	Mostly restored	Partly restored	Extant
26.	Mostly restored	Extant	Extant
27.	Partly restored	Extant	Extant

Each pilaster is composed of 16 pieces. Of these ten are ornamented and the remaining six are of plain bricks. As usual it consists of pedestal, shaft, capital and abacus.

Pedestal

The pedestal has four components. The lowest one, which for the sake of convenience may be called footing was originally a rectangular carved brick, the exposed part of which is 28 cm wide and 8 cm high. It projects about 7 cm outside the wall. Of the 18 pilasters illustrated decorated footing is extant in only three (nos. 3, 12 and 21). The component above the footing which may be called support is divided horizontally into two sections. The lower part is rectangular and the upper trapezoid bevelled at the top. The upper section is plain and the lower decorated. This piece is 6 cm narrower than the footing and is only 15 cm at the upper end. Only one of the original carved members is extant (pilaster no. 21). Above the support is the *kumbha* or waterpot which is of the thickness of two bricks and is only slightly rounded at the corners. Of the 18 pedestals, only 11 have decorated *kumbhas*; in the rest these have been replaced by plain ones. Surmounting the water-pot is the rim similar to the support but placed in reverse position. Only five of the rims are plain; the rest are decorated.

Shaft

The shaft consists of six plain unornamented bricks placed one upon another. Of these the lower three are rectangular. The next two are half hexagonal. The sixth brick is semi-circular. The rectangular bricks project 9 cm beyond the wall surface while the corners of the exposed part of the half hexagonal and semi-circular bricks are flush with the wall. The central projection is absorbed by the slant of the two sides of the half-hexagon and the curve of the half-round brick. It is unlikely that the shaft should ever have been formed of ornamental bricks since none of the original pilasters shows such a decoration.

Capital

The capital is composed of base, cushion, pitcher, rim and abacus. The base, cushion and rim are of the same thickness as the bricks used for construction. The *kumbha* or water-pot is moulded as one piece but is equal in thickness to two bricks laid one upon another. The abacus is in two parts, one placed above the other. We have thus six components equivalent in vertical measurement to seven courses of bricks. All the six members are profusely ornamented. The base of the capital is in the form of a trapezium superimposed on a rectangle, each having a different pattern. Above this is the cushion having invariably a diagonal pattern in the form of a rope cushion for a pitcher. The pitcher or *kumbha* is placed above this cushion, and in some of the pilasters it has a most realistic resemblance to an embossed metal pot with smooth neck and ornamented lip flaring outward. The neck of the water-pot is usually plain and unornamented. This composite *kumbha* is surmounted by an abacus of carved bricks in two layers. The lower carved brick is smaller than the upper one. Both layers show the same acanthus ornament. Each abacus except for one is subdivided into three compartments, the side compartments are symmetrical but the central one has invariably a different pattern though related to acenthus motif. In the case of pilaster No. 25 (Fig. 31) each of the two layers has a continuous motif. This part of the capital has been profoundly influenced by the capital of the Corinthian order. The acanthus motif has been widely used at other sites too. In the course of the excavations around the *stūpa* in Mīrpur Khās in Sind, decorative bricks bearing this pattern were found in large numbers.[1] The height of the pilasters is 1.44 m. The vertical and horizontal measurement (in cm) of each of the components is as follows :

		Horizontal	Vertical
Pedestal	Footing	28	8
	Support	22	8
	Kumbha	28	16
	Rim	26	8

Shaft	Plain rectangular brick	23	8
	Semi-hexagonal brick	23	8
	Semi-circular brick	23	8
Capital	Base	21	8
	Cushion	21	8
	Kumbha	27	16
	Rim	19	8
	Abacus—lower layer	23	8
	Abacus—upper layer	28	8

Each pilaster is different from the rest in the combination of its components. With the exception of the cushion and the abacus all the members of the pilasters display a varied combination of motifs. The basic patterns fall into 12 groups. Including several variations in all 38 different motifs have been employed, and are illustrated in Figs. 12 and 13. These are listed as follows :

Lotus petal and its variations	1. Narrow petals pointing upward.
	2. Narrow petals pointing downwards.
	3. Small petals in lozenge shape.
	4. Straight geometrical petals with a vertical line in the middle.
	5. Large petals with curved sides.
	6. Broad petals with incisions to resemble acanthus motif.
	7. Horizontal short leaves on either side.
	8. Vertical pointed leaves, similar to No. 1 with single line of chequers.
Chain	9. Chain of biconical links.
Chequers	10. One row of alternatively incised squares.
	11. Two alternating rows of squares.
	12. Three or more alternating rows of squares.
	13. Chequers forming a stepped pattern.
Stepped	14. Zig zag lines with plain upper and lower frame.
	15. Corrugation.
	16. Dog tooth.
Oblique	17. Zig zag line followed by two rows of small chequers placed obliquely to represent a twisted rope or turban.

	18. Wavy line followed by four-petalled flowers, the petals in diagonal followed again by chequers in diagonal.
	19. Wavy line and chequers only.
Flowers	20. Flower with four large and four small petals.
	21. Flower with four petals.
Curved lines	22. Vertical, curved lines followed by similar concentric arcs.
	23. Curved line in the form of a garland with buds.
Rectangular	24. Squares within squares.
	25. Double crenellations.
Chequers and lozenges	26. Double vertical line of chequers alternating with lozenges and half petals.
Star	27. Simple four-pointed star.
	28. Tablet flower.
Straight incised line	29. Straight parallel incisions used as an ornament.
Acanthus	30. Symmetrically placed thin leaves on either side in the central division of abacus.
	31. Leaves on either side with diamond at bottom centre.
	32. Leaves in feather pattern.
	33. A variation of No. 31 with a large trefoil in the centre.
	34. Vertical wavy line in centre with curved leaves on either side.
	35. Curved leaves with whorls.
	36. Curved leaves in fan pattern.
	37. Leaves spread out.
	38. Stylised leaves in the form of curves.

These have been illustrated under the same sub-numbers in Figs. 12 and 13.

The cushion of the pitcher in the capital is generally of the same pattern in all, except one. The rest of the members have a most varied combination of motifs. In particular, there are as many as eleven variations of the acanthus motif in the abacus. The following table shows the distribution of motifs in the different members of the pilaster.

		Pedestal						Capital							Abacus			
				Kumbha				Base			*Kumbha*				Lower		Upper	
Pilaster No.	Figure No.	Footing	Support	Lower	Central	Upper	Rim	Lower	Upper	Cushion	Lower	Central	Upper	Rim	Sides	Centre	Sides	Centre
3	16	19	—	1	12	—	14	—	2	17	1	11	1	5	37	32	36	31
5	17	—	—	30	12	—	14	14	3	17	5	20	1	26	35	31	37	31
7	18	—	—	1	10 14	4	15	14	2	17	5	11	1	1	36	31	36	31
8	19	—	—	—	—	—	25	14	1	17	1	11	1	1	37	31	37	31
9	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	14	1	17	5	11	5	—	37	31	—	—
10	21	—	—	2	24	30	14	14	1	17	1	27	1	22	37	31	37	31
12	22	19 10	—	2	13	30	27	10	1	17	1	12	5	3	37	31	37	31
14	23	—	—	30	13	30	14	—	5	17	1	11	1	16	35	31	37	31
17	24	—	—	30	12	—	16	14	2	17	2	14	2	1	37	31	37	31
19	25	—	—	30	12	—	15	14	5	17	2	14	2	1	37	31	37	31
20	26	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	10 14	2	—	38	7	38	31
21	27	28	25	30	10 15	—	21	14	2	17	2	15	2	6	37	31	37	31
22	28	—	—	—	—	—	—	16	6	17	2	—	2	5	37	34	37	31
23	29	—	—	—	—	—	—	14	1	18	1	21	5	1	37	31	35	33
24	30	—	—	16	23	2	25	14	2	17	1	21	1	14 9	37	8	37	31
25	31	—	—	—	—	—	14	—	—	—	5	15	5	14	30	30	35	35
26	32	—	—	5	—	—	14	14	1	—	5	21	5	10 2	37	31	37	31
27	33	—	—	2	16 10	30	—	14	2	17	1	21	5	1	37	31	36	31

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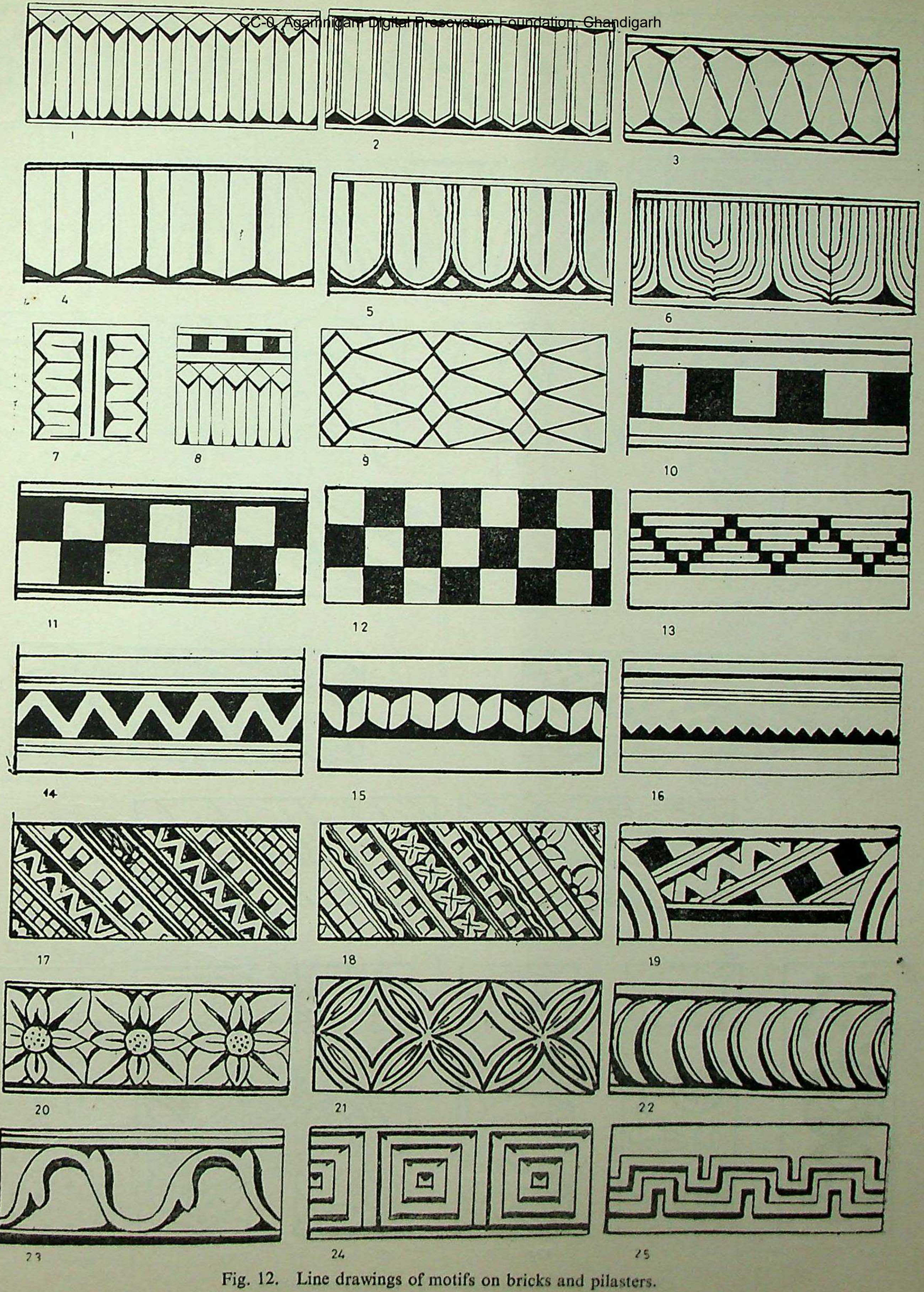
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Fig. 12. Line drawings of motifs on bricks and pilasters.

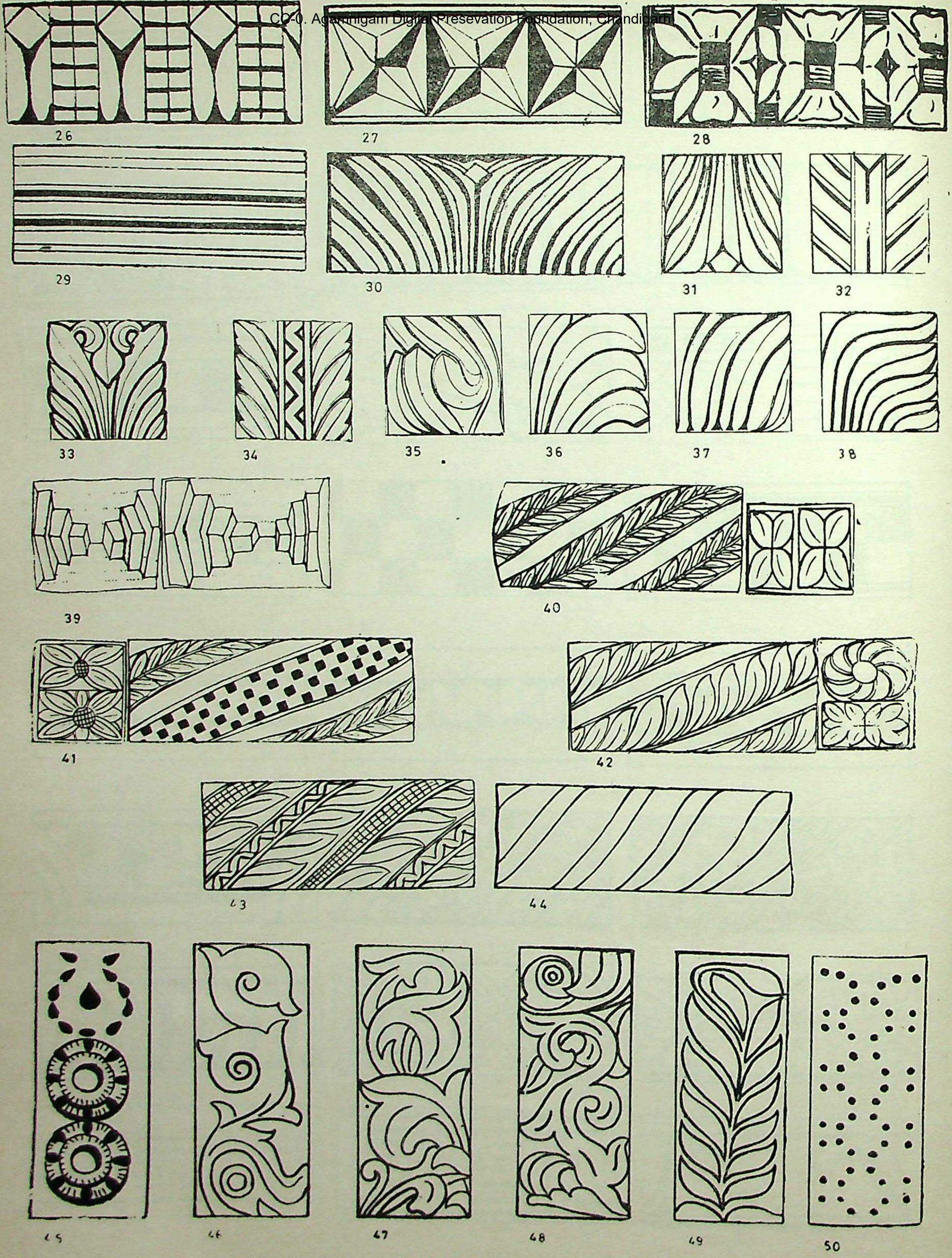
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Fig. 13. Line drawings of motifs on bricks and pilasters.

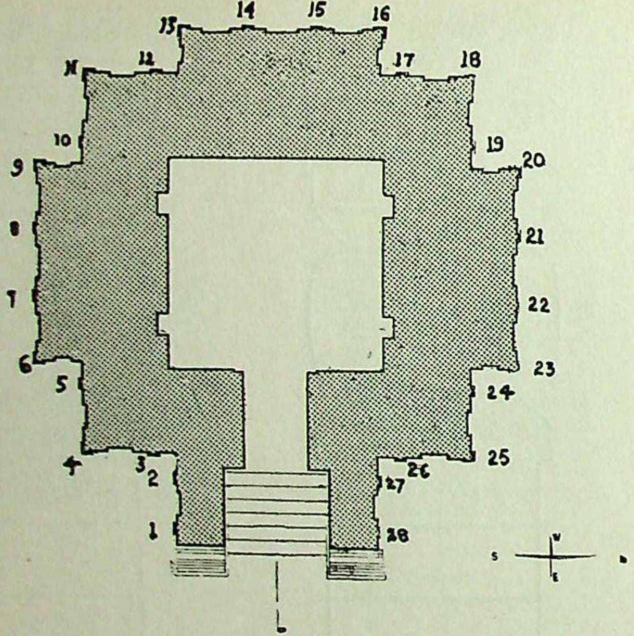
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Fig. 14. Plan indicating location of pilasters.

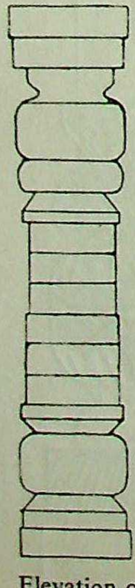

Fig. 15. Elevation of pilasters.

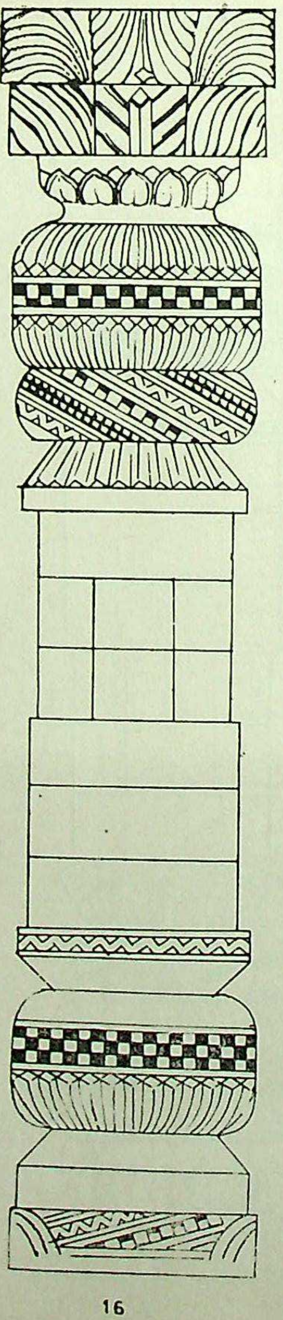

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Fig. 16. Pilaster No. 3.

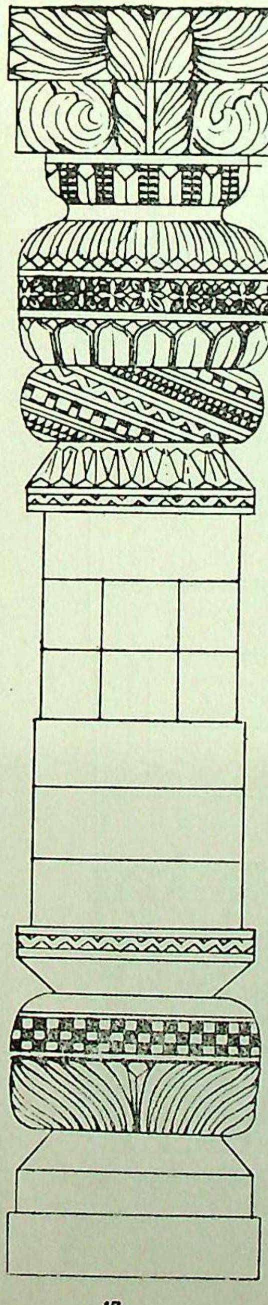

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Fig. 17. Pilaster No. 5.

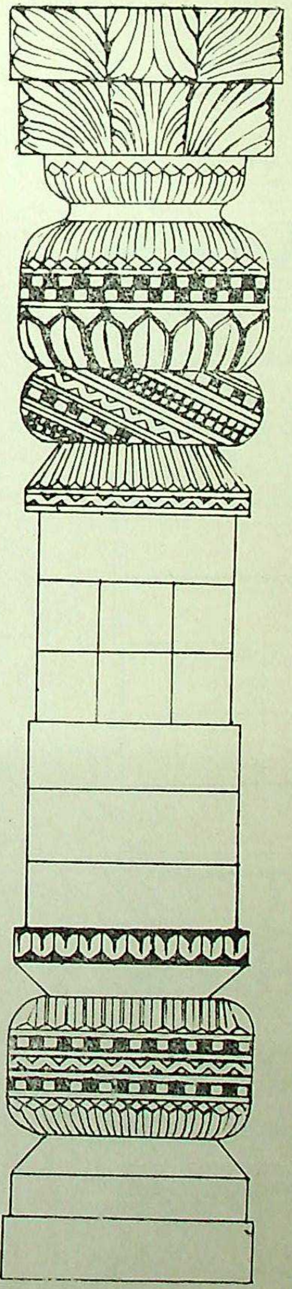

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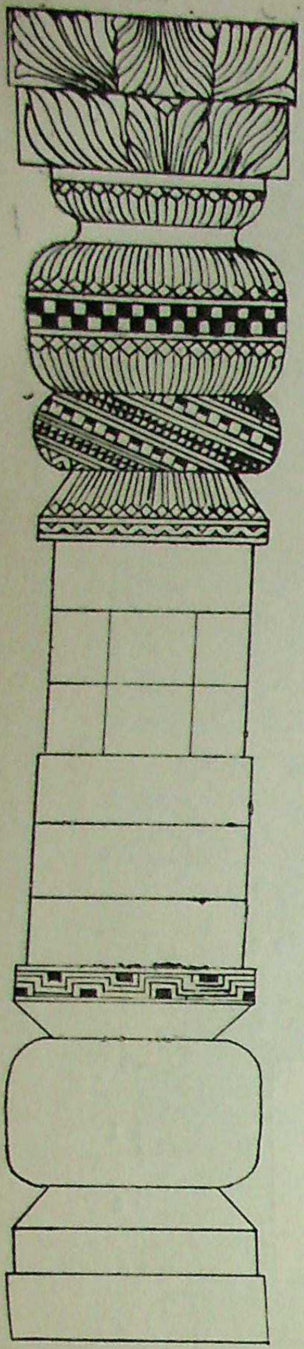
Fig. 18. Pilaster No. 7.



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F. 19. Pilaster No. 8.

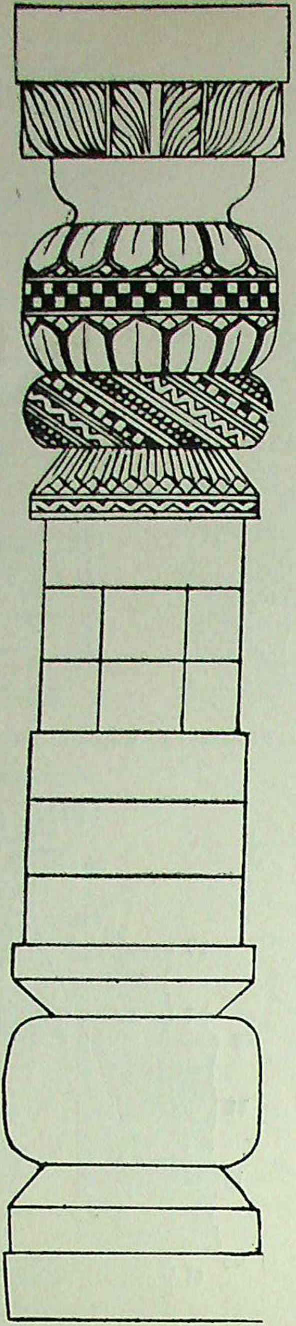

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Fig. 20. Pilaster No. 9.

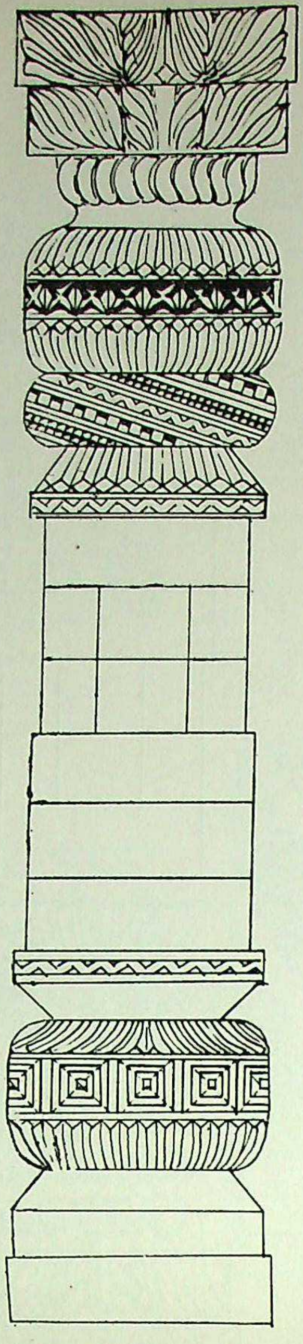

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Fig. 21. Pilaster No. 10.

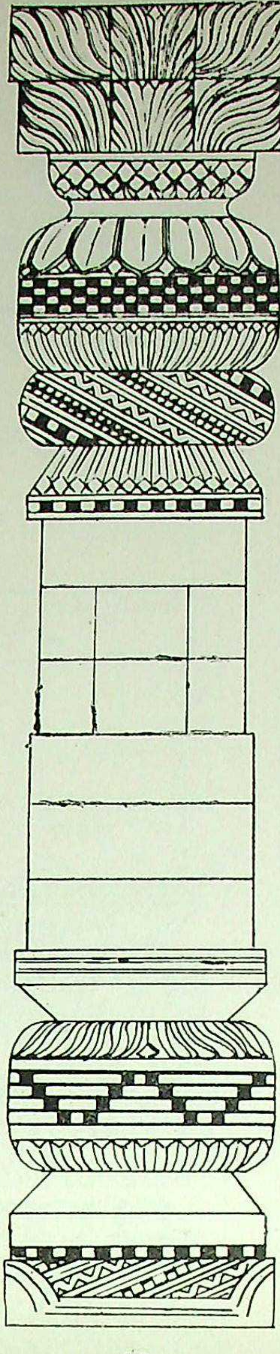

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Fig. 22. Pilaster No. 12.

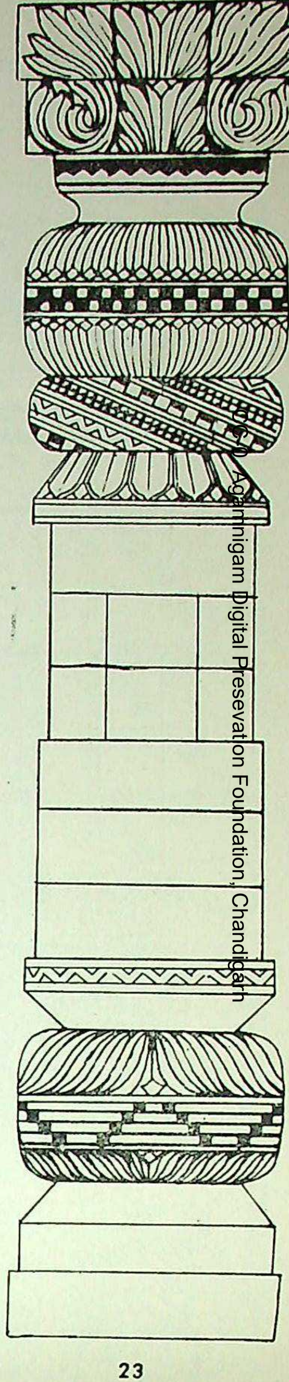

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Fig. 23. Pilaster No. *14.*

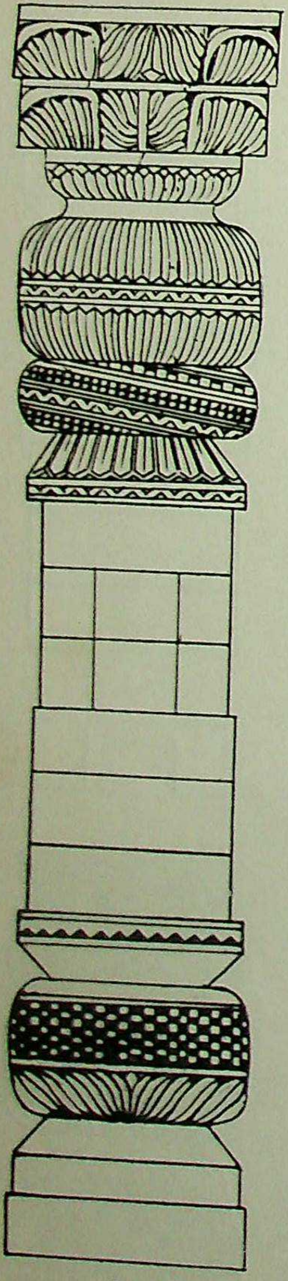

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Fig. 24. Pilaster No. 17.

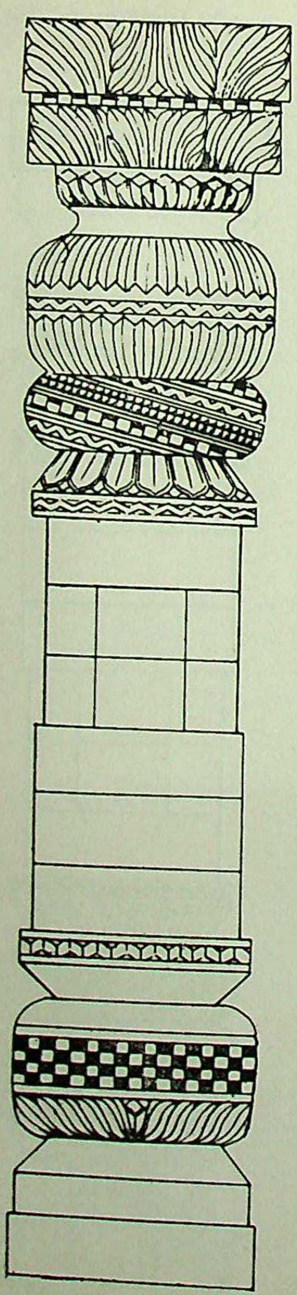

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Fig. 25. Pilaster No. 19.

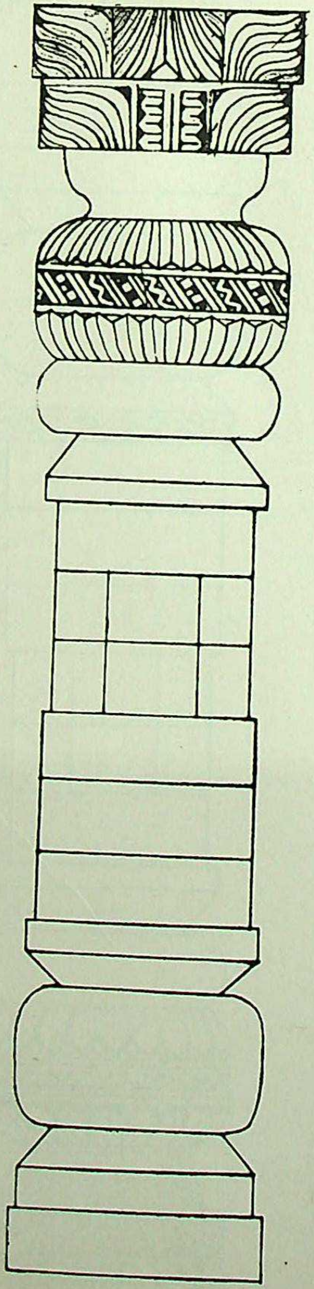

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Fig. 26. Pilaster No. 20.

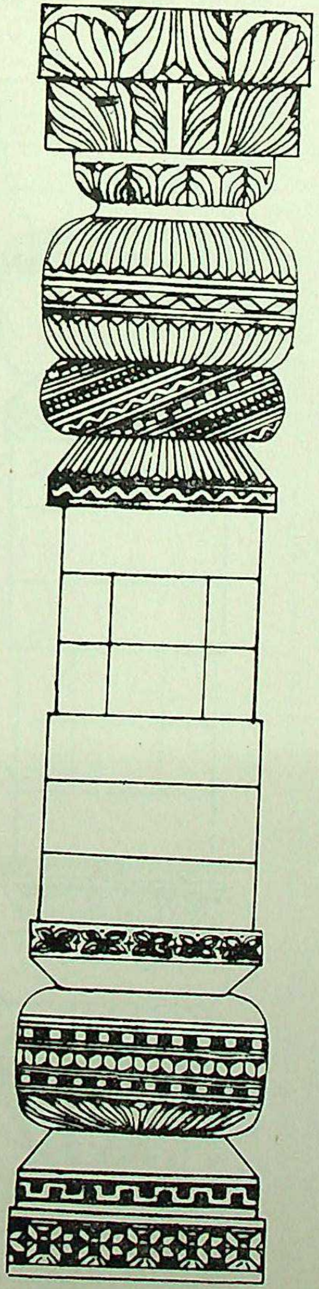

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Fig. 27. Pilaster No. 21.

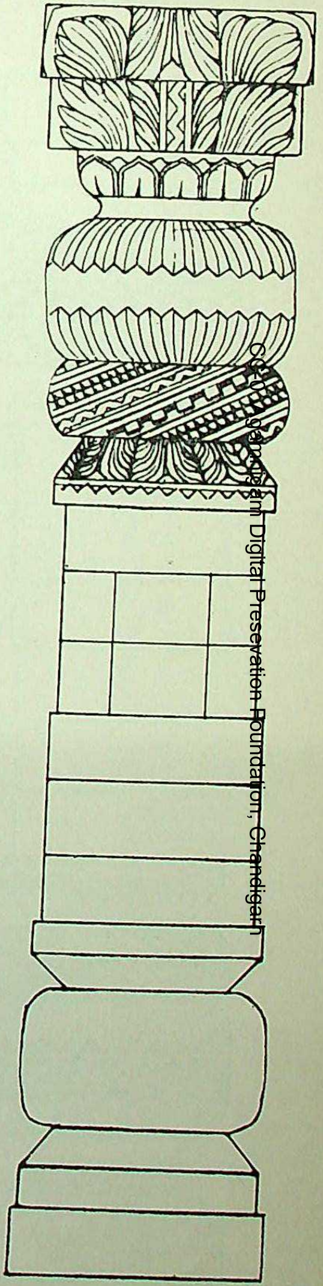

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Fig. 28. Pilaster No. 22.

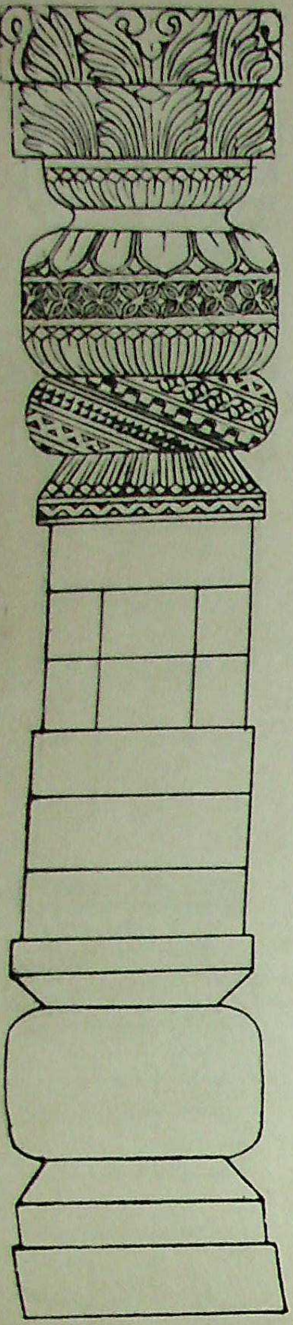

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Fig. 29. Pilaster No. 23.

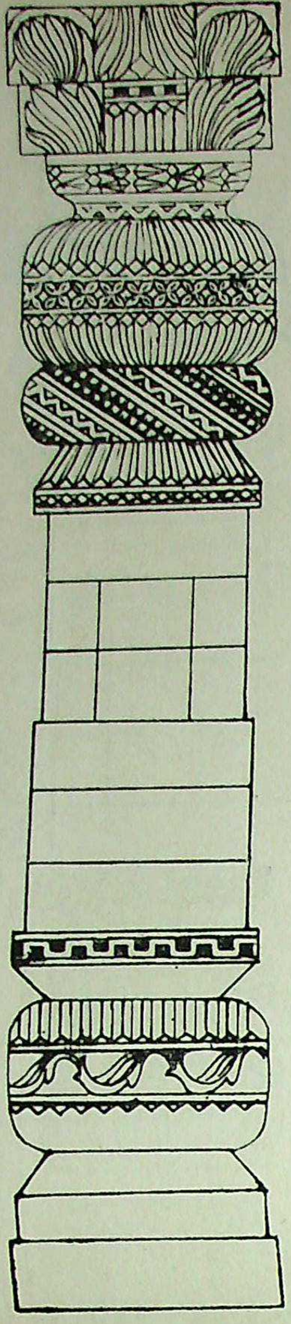

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Fig. 30. Pilaster No. 24.

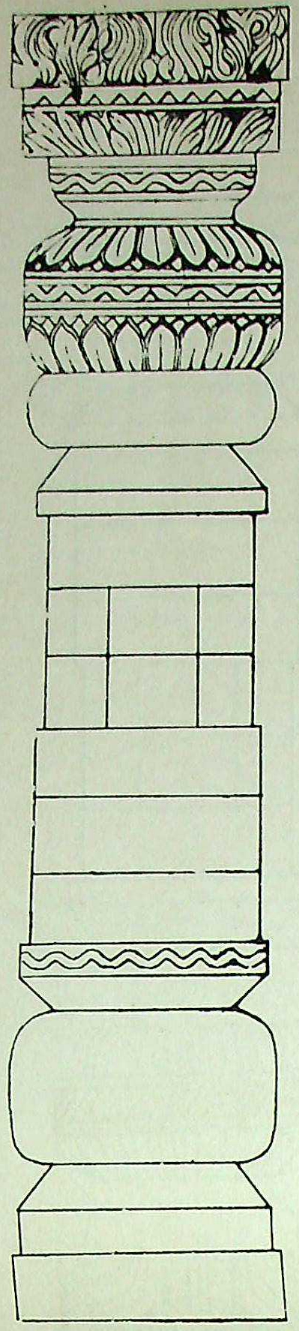

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Fig. 31. Pilaster No. 25.

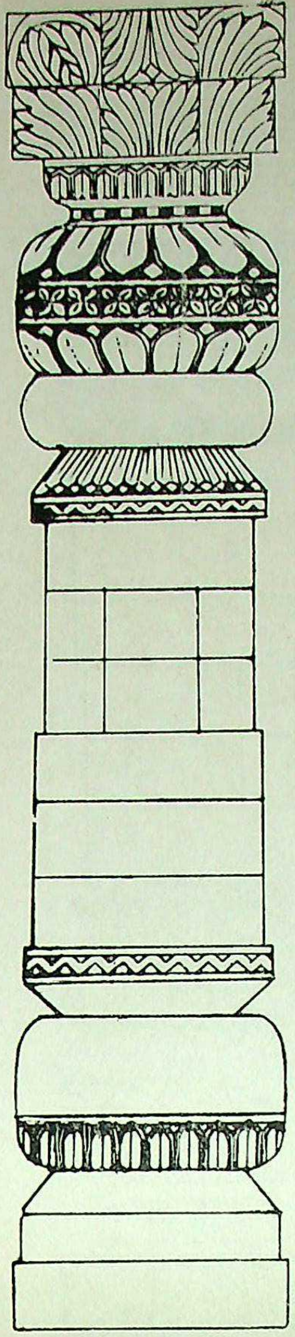

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Fig. 32. Pilaster No. 26.

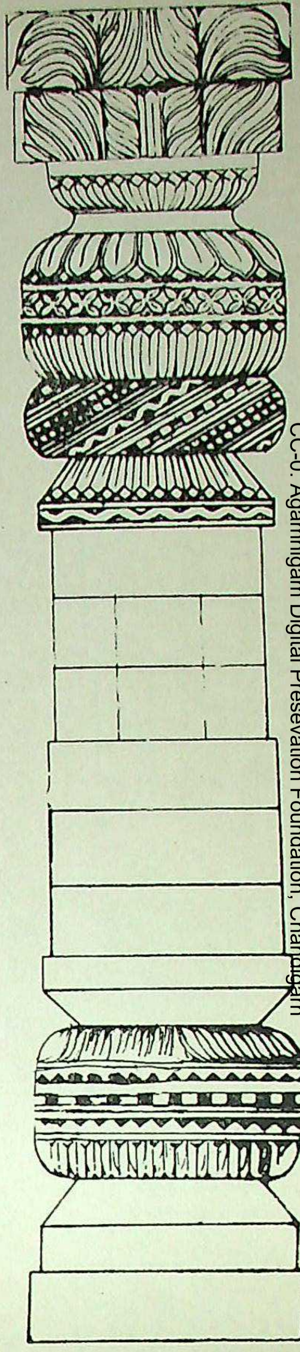

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Fig. 33. *Pilaster No. 27.*

Some of the motifs have been used more often than others. The analysis of their use in the two portions viz. pedestal and capital is as follows :

Motif	Pedestal		Capital			Abacus		Total
	Footing and support	*Kumbha*	Base	Cushion	*Kumbha*	Sides	Centre	
1.	—	2	6	—	21	—	—	29
2.	—	4	6	—	11	—	—	21
3.	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	2
4.	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
5.	—	1	2	—	13	—	—	16
6.	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	2
7.	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
8.	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
9.	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
10.	1	3	1	—	2	—	—	7
11.	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	5
12.	—	4	—	—	1	—	—	5
13.	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
14.	—	7	12	—	5	—	—	24
15.	—	3	—	—	2	—	—	5
16.	—	3	1	—	1	—	—	5
17.	—	—	—	14	—	—	—	14
18.	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
19.	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
20.	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
21.	—	1	—	—	4	—	—	5
22.	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
23.	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
24.	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
25.	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	3
26.	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
27.	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
28.	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
29.	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
30.	—	9	—	—	—	1	1	11
31.	—	—	—	—	—	—	28	28
32.	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
33.	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
34.	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
35.	—	—	—	—	—	4	1	5
36.	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	4
37.	—	—	—	—	—	24	—	24
38.	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2
	5	45	30	15	72	35	35	237

Some of the patterns have been used more frequently than the rest. The motif most often used is acanthus since it has been repeated in all the abaci. Narrow lotus petals pointing upwards or downwards are in the next largest frequency. Zig zag lines with plain margins above and below come next. The twist pattern of the cushion of the *pūrṇaghaṭa* is common in almost all the capitals. It is remarkable that such a high level of refinement in the employment of geometrical motifs is displayed in the decorations of the pilasters of this temple. There is no example anywhere else in the sub-continent of such richly decorated and so proportionate pilasters in terracotta with such a varied repertory of patterns. Ornamented bricks have been used in the cornices, upright divisions between panels, in the ring course in the second tier and in the frame of the niches or *gavākṣas*.

There are two cornices which frame the ring course in the second tier. Each cornice consists of seven courses of brick of which three are ornamented and the remaining four plain. The lowest course which projects beyond the lower surface of the wall is composed of bricks with incised chequers forming a stepped pattern (Fig. 12.13). The upper layer of the abacus of pilasters is also contained in this course. The second course is made up of upward pointing lotus petals (Fig. 12.5) and the third of bricks with stepped spaces (Fig. 13.39).

The long bricks containing incised chequers in a stepped pattern (Fig. 12.13) are common and this design has been found at most sites where decorative bricks were used. The ornamental bricks have been so laid that the pattern remains unbroken. There are five horizontal incised lines which contain square hollows arranged diagonally in a stepped pattern. Since the space between one pilaster and the next is not an exact multiple of the length of the bricks, smaller bricks bearing the same motif have sometimes been inserted. Immediately above this course is a row of bricks bearing the pattern of lotus petals with the tips pointing upwards, a double line along the edge of each petal and a sloping incision in its centre to mark the vein (Fig. 12.5). Above this row of lotus petals are deeply carved bricks with stepped pattern in complex three dimensional design (Fig. 13.39). Next above are five courses of plain bricks. The dimensions of each of the three types of bricks are the same. These are 48 cm long and 8 cm high. The width could not be determined as whole bricks are embedded in the building and only the projections are visible.

The upper cornice also consists of the same seven courses, three ornamented and four of plain bricks. Of the ornamental courses the middle one is different from the corresponding course in the lower cornice. The other two are of the same pattern as in the other cornice.

The middle course of decorated bricks in the upper cornice is not uniform in design. It has four variations of cable or rope pattern. These may briefly be described.

1. Cable pattern consisting of a leaf motif with alternate blank channels containing in the centre an ornament of quatrefoil petals (Fig. 13.40). The arrangement of the leaves is geometrical, pointing upwards. The central ornament is square in contrast

with the cylindrical shape of the brick. This adds to the beauty of the ensemble. Quatrefoil motifs were extensively used for architectural ornamentation in ancient India. There is a profusion of this motif in the fragments of the dado of the Śiva temple at Bhumara which is ascribed to the 5th century A.D.[2]

2. Cable pattern consisting of leaf motif and blank channels alternating with chequered apron interrupted by a vertical band showing open flowers with a circular outline in the centre (Fig 13.41). We have already noticed the chequered pattern in other decorations on the temple. Here it has been given a new treatment in being applied in a twisted cable on a cylindrical shape. The four corner petals of the flower are larger than the intervening petals. Their edges show double outlines.

3. Cable pattern consisting of a single line of leaves alternating with blank channels interrupted by a vertical band showing a flower with nine whirling petals (Fig. 13.42). In this pattern the petals on the cylinder are longer and bear a strong resemblance to mango leaves.

4. Cable pattern consisting of a single line of leaves alternating with either a wavy line or a grate pattern with raised granules both flanked on either side by plain bands (Fig. 13.43).

During restoration missing bricks in this course of cable patterns were replaced by new ones of the same shape but without ornament containing oblique incisions only. These have been illustrated in Fig. 13.44.

Some of the upright bricks between the panels in the second row have sculptural composition and others are in the form of decorated bricks. There are a total of 51 such balusters now left. Their dimensions are 24×10 cm. Of these 13 are sculptural reliefs, of which three are obliterated, one is a plain brick and 37 are decorated. Plain chequers appear on 27 and only ten have floral or geometrical motifs. These are distributed on the four sides as follows :

Motif	*East*	*South*	*West*	*North*	*Total*
Chequers	4	7	5	11	27
Foliations and other motifs	—	5	3	2	10
Figures	2	2	2	4	10
Obliterated figures	1	1	—	1	3
Plain without ornament	—	—	—	1	1
Total	7	15	10	19	51

Those balusters which have figures on them have been included with the panels. Excluding chequers six patterns have been discerned in the remaining ten. These may be briefly mentioned :

1. Three circles with round marks (Fig 13.45). The two lower ones have three concentric circles with markings on the circumference and eight drop-shaped incisions. The pattern at the top has a number of similar markings with a larger one in the centre.

2, 3, 4. Foliations with curves (Figs. 13.46, 13.47, 13.48).

5. Branch with leaves on either side surmounted by a bud on an elongated stem (Fig. 13.49).

6. Round incised dots making four circles with additional dots on the sides (Fig. 13.50).

Ornamental bricks on the frames of *gavākṣas* bear the lotus petal pattern and resemble those in the middle row of the lower cornice. The bricks around the side and top of the niches are semi-circular.

The original plain bricks used in the construction of the temple are not of uniform size. The thickness is generally uniform at 8 cm, but the length varies from 44 to 46 cm and the width from 23 to 27 cm. Cunningham mentioned the size of these bricks as 18 in.×9 in.×3 in. which works out to 45×22.5×7.5 cm.[3] According to Vogel these measured 17½ in.×10½ in.×3 in.[4] In terms of centimeteres this works out to 43.75×26.25×7.5. It is lack of uniformity which led to varying measurements being indicated by these two archaeologists.

A word needs to be added about the process of fabrication of ornamental bricks. These do no appear to have been cast from mould. Their decorations have been made by working the clay with a knife or stylus when still green. On a number of bricks there are misplaced incisions which became permanent after firing. These give the clue to the manner in which the designs were carved out and the contours and features incorporated.

Texture of ornamental bricks and panels

Compared with ornamental bricks and panels from other sites, those of Bhītargāon have a distinctive surface texture. They appear to have been fired at a high temperature and are, dark and in some cases bright red in colour. The surface has been treated with a dark red slip most of which has worn off; but wherever it is still intact, it is so dark as to appear almost brown. In some instances the firing at a high temperature has imparted to the surface a shine which still survives.

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3. A. Cunningham, Report of a Tour, VII—Bhītargāon, *A.S.I.R.*, pp. 40-41.
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CHAPTER IV

COMPARISON WITH ORNAMENTAL BRICKS FROM OTHER SITES

Monumental antiquites are so abundant and widespread in India that certain priorities of interest have developed in the course of years. What with cave-temples, monolithic structures, *stūpas*, richly carved *toraṇas*, shrines in stone and an infinite number of sculptured objects made of stone or metal, artifacts fashioned from the humble clay are bound to be assigned a very low rating for attention. Some concession was made in favour of plastic art in terracotta on account of its association with stone sculpture and care was also taken in some cases to identify the objects in relation to their provenance. However, scant attention was paid to architectural members in burnt brick; nor was any care given to their place of origin. The places of origin and the circumstances of discovery of the countless ornamental bricks in archaeological museums in India are generally unknown. This makes any attempt at comparison of the finds from one place with those of other sites extremely difficult as we shall presently observe.

Writing more than a hundred years ago, Alexander Cunningham said that he had come upon moulded and carved bricks all over north India from Taxila (now in Pakistan) in the west to Śrāvastī and Garhwa in the east. Amongst the sites where such bricks had been discovered, he mentioned the Sun temple at Multān, the shrine of Jagasoma at Thānesar, Sankissā, Kausambī, Śrāvastī, Paknā Bihār, Bilsar, Garhwā, Bhītarī, Mathurā, Varanasī and Newal.[1] One would be encouraged to entertain the hope that with the intense activity of archaeological exploration which has been maintained throughout the intervening period, this list would have by now been enlarged manyfold. But, unfortunately, while a few more sites have no doubt been added, many of those mentioned by Cunningham have to be omitted from the list for want of evidence.

A fairly close examination of the Archaeological Survey Reports for the last hundred years could not yield particulars of more than a handful of sites from where the finds of carved and moulded bricks have been documented or illustrated. One is, therefore, obliged to confine a comparative survey to this limited field, howsoever numerous may have been other sites or howsoever, abundant may be the unidentified material lodged in museums.

For more than half a century the central Indian temples at Sirpur in district Raipur, Kharōd in district Bilaspur and Tēr in district Osmanabad have, by association, been mentioned along with that of Bhītargāon as the prominent surviving examples of brick architecture. It would be well, therefore, to start with these and see what similarities or otherwise exist with regard to moulded and carved bricks. There are two temples at Sirpūr, known as the Lakṣmana and Viṣṇu temples.[2] The features of both are similar. The bricks have been rubbed down smooth, cut in profile and so used as to create large compositions as distinct from individually carved bricks. The door-jambs as well as the pillars in the courtyard are of stone. The porch has a dormer window, there is no trace of a *maṇḍapa*, and if there originally was one, it probably had a flat roof. There are delicate lotus petal mouldings on slender pilasters with plain pot and foliage capitals. On the Lakṣmana temple there is a false window of carved brick on the west which has rosettes in eleven of the fourteen panels and foliated birds in the other three (Fig. 55). These motifs bear no resemblance to those at Bhītargāon. The decorations in high relief have been created by using plaster on the base of brick (Fig. 53). Here again, no similarities with Bhītargāon can be noticed. The brick temple of Lakhneśwara at Kharōd has extensive ornamentation similar to that of the Lakṣmana temple at Sirpūr, but is regarded to belong to a later period (Fig. 56). No resemblance with the moulded and carved bricks or pilaster members used at Bhītargāon can be observed. At Tēr in Maharashtra, there are three temples, viz., Trivikrama, Uttareśwara and Kāleśvara. Slender pilasters support thick wall mouldings with ornamental niches between them but no individually ornamented bricks similar to those used in Bhītargāon are in evidence.[3] Even on the eighth century temple at Paraulī, which is not far from Bhītargāon, the carved bricks are similar to those of the Central Indian temples. These are not decorated with self-contained ornaments on individual pieces but are so contoured as to constitute compositions on being joined together.[4]

In Rajasthan, in an area which includes Sūratgarh, Rangmahāl, Badopāl and several other minor sites, large numbers of terracottas were discovered in the course of a survey made in 1917.[5] The photographic documentation of the Directorate General of Archaeology contains photographs of numerous carved bricks found at these sites. Particulars of these are being given on page 47 for the sake of record.

Though the subjects of a number of motifs such as lotus petals, four petalled flowers and acanthus are the same, the idiom of design is different and unrelated to the idiom of Bhītargāon or Ahichchhatra and similar schools.[6] In particular, the bricks found at Sūratgarh show complicated and ornate motifs and appear to be of a much later period.[7] Explorations at Rangmahāl in Rajasthan between 1952 and 1954 yielded specimens which seem to represent stepped motifs, acanthus, chequers and lotus petals. The motifs are not as intricate as in the bricks found earlier in the adjacent areas.[8] At Nāgāri also in Rajasthan, a number of moulded and carved bricks were discovered

Reference to collection of photographs	*Page No.*	*Photograph No.*	*No. of bricks illustrated*	*Provenance*	*Short description*
Rajputana Vol. VIII 1915-18	15	201	10	Bhadra Kali Theri	Chequers, lotus.
	15	202	15	,,	Chequers, acanthus.
	16	203	8	,,	Simple cord motif and other complicated ones.
	16	204	8	,,	,,
	18	210	3	Hanumangarh	Chequers and spear-head.
	20	216	1	Munda	Railing pillar with lotus medallions.
	20	217	2	,,	,,
	21	220	9	Pir Sultan Ki Theri	Acanthus.
	21	221	9	,,	,,
	22	222	3	,,	One with Lotus petal medallion and one with cross pattern.
	27	240	2	Suratgarh	Acanthus.
	30	252	6	Pir Sultan Ki Theri	Lotus petals and other flower patterns.
		Total :	76		
Rajputana Vol. 7 1915-18	57	73	1	Suratgarh	Diagonal incisions forming lozenges.
	58	74	2	,,	Acanthus with bracket mouldings.
	58	75	2	,,	Acanthus and four petalled flower.
	58	76	4	,,	Acanthus and lotus petals.
	58	77	3	,,	Acanthus
	59	78	2	,,	,,
	59	79	4	,,	Stylised acanthus.
	59	80	3	,,	Cord motif with granules.
	59	81	3	,,	Intertwined pattern.
	60	82	3	,,	Chequers, cord and geometrical flower.
	60	83	4	,,	Lozenges, spear-head, lotus petals.
	61	84	2	,,	Guttae pattern
	61	85	4	,,	Chequers
	61	86	5	,,	Flowers
	61	87	3	,,	,,
	62	88	1	,,	,,
	62	89	4	,,	,,
		Total :	50		

which were photographed by the Archaeological Survey of India. On page 74 of Rajputana, Vol. 6, 1909-1916, photograph No. 4497 shows 11 bricks, of which two are plain, one plain but recessed on two sides, one with vertical markings, another round with radial marks, five with four petalled motifs and one with fan motif. Floral and lotus petal motifs were very common decorative devices in early Indian art.[9] Fragments of carved bricks were also discovered at Mahāsthān in Bengal.[10] Their patterns are elaborate and ornate. It is most unfortunate that though sculptured terracotta panels were discovered at Paharpur by the hundreds no documentation of carved bricks exists.

Examples of carved bricks have also been reported from Pattan Manārā, previously in Bahawalpur State and now in Pakistan.[11] This is a minor site but it should be mentioned, if for no other reason than to dispel the wrong notion that the bricks discovered here show a strong resemblance to those of the temple at Bhītargāon.[12] There is in fact little, or no, resemblance between the carved bricks found at this site and those of Bhītargāon. The bricks found from Pattan Manārā are elaborate and sophisticated in design, and are obviously of a much later date.

We have so far considered such sites, where decorated bricks were found but these bear no resemblance to those from Bhītargāon. We shall now discuss the bricks discovered at Mīrpur Khās and Vaiśālī which bear some though not substantial similarity to those of Bhītargāon.

Mīrpur Khās is a site in Sind which is now in Pakistan. Exploration of the site was made in 1909 or thereabouts and a report together with illustrations of carved bricks was published in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for* 1909-10.[13] More recently a study of the stucco sculpture as also of ornamented bricks has been made.[14] Out of 16 examples of carved bricks published, only two[15] bearing acanthus motif and lotus petals with chequers resemble the bricks found at Bhītargāon; the rest are more elaborate. The larger number shows complicated patterns which do not resemble those of Bhītargāon. On the other hand, there is a close resemblance between the ornamented bricks of Mīrpur Khās and Devnīmorī.

In district Sabarkantha of Gujarat[16] out of a total of 96 bricks published from Devnīmorī, eight represent human or animal figures, leaving 88 bricks with decorative designs. Of these nine have features which show a certain degree of similarity with motifs used at Bhītargāon. These are :

Pl. No. in Mehta and Choudhary	*Brick No.*	*Description*	*Motif at Bhītargāon*
1	2	3	4
XLIII	A	Decorated jamb	Cord motif No. 44 of Fig. 13
	C	,,	,,
XLV	A	,,	,,

Contd.

1	2	3	4
XLVI	D	Decorated Jamb	Cord motif No. 44 of Fig. 13
LV	B	Indo-Corinthian capital	Acanthus motif of abacus No. 31 of Fig. 13
LVIII	A	Rectangular brick Acanthus motif	,, ,,
,,	B	,,	,,
LIX	C	Chequers	No. 11 of Fig. 12
LXII	A	Acanthus motif	A variation of No. 31 of Fig. 13

The lotus petal motif which was very common has not been taken into consideration.

The simple cord motif shown in Fig. 13.44 is an improvisation made during restoration and can establish no ground for chronological similarity. The other two motifs which both sites have in common are acanthus and chequers. Of these the greatest degree of resemblance between Devnīmorī and Bhītargāon can be observed in the acanthus motif which was presumably used for the decoration of the abacus. It appears that both schools adopted this originally Hellenistic pattern directly or indirectly from Gandhara and used it without introducing any significant changes. The period gap between the two styles appears to have been short. Even assuming that one is as much as a century earlier than the other, if no contact existed between the two, the later school would certainly manifest the influence of indigenous genius. No such change has occurred in either example. This shows that both were either contemporary or not far removed in time.

In the case of the other decorative designs, there are minor differences. The lotus motif in the form of broad leaves is similar. As for the rest, the school of Devnīmorī terracotta ornaments appears to have little or no connection with those of, for instance Ahichchhatra, Kasiā, Sārnāth, Śrāvastī, Bhītarī and Bhītargāon and had, as it were, an independent existence deriving its inspiration in only a few cases from common sources. The period assigned to the finds at Devnīmorī is about 4th Century A.D.[17] which would almost be contemporary with the dates ascribed to the finds from Newal in Unnao, Paknā Bihār in Farrukhabad, Stūpa 14 of Kasiā, and to the extent of the cornice formation only with Stūpa 136 of Sārnāth. In view of the slightly more refined patterns Bhītargāon may be regarded as somewhat later.

In the course of the excavations conducted in 1903-04, at Vaiśālī (Besārh or Basārh) in Bihar ornamental bricks were found, four of which were published.[18] Of these only one shows a motif which resembles No. 39 of Fig. 13 at Bhītargāon; the rest do not. It may be mentioned that this motif of stepped cuts was very common in the Gupta period and probably even earlier, and has been found as far west as Mīrpur Khās. No inference in respect to chronology can, therefore, be drawn on the basis of this solitary similarity at Vaiśālī. Further excavations at this site were carried out about ten years later as a result of which 826 finds were listed out of which only five were ornamental bricks,[19] which are described as follows :

1. Measuring 11½″×8¾″×2¼″ (29.2×21.2×5.7 cm), one long edge carved.
43. Deeply but coarsely carved; fragment only.
316. 11½″×8½″×2″ (29.2×21.5×5 cm) carved edge.
510. Fragment of coarsely carved brick 5″×2¼″ (12.7×5.7 cm).
538. A carved brick.

None of these was illustrated. After about another four decades excavations were conducted by Krishna Deva and Vijayakanta Mishra in 1950 and a report was published but no ornamental bricks or terracotta panels were reported.[20] Exploration was resumed in 1958 and continued in subsequent years. Though 425 figurines and 116 miscellaneous objects such as balls, wheels, rubbers and discs have been listed, no ornamental bricks or terracotta panels in high relief appear to have been found.[21]

Mention needs to be made of twenty-one ornamental bricks discovered in 1910-11 at Rāmbhar near Kasiā.[22] These appear to be parts of larger sculptural compositions formed by joining a number of bricks. Among these fragments a *makara* head can easily be recognised. No date has been suggested for these bricks but they appear to be much later than the Gupta period. Another twelve bricks from the same site were published a year later.[23] These too have complicated patterns and none of them bears any resemblance to those found at Bhītargāon.

The excavations conducted in Kumrahār near Patna from 1951 to 1954 also yielded some ornamental bricks. The motifs used are chequers, dog-tooth, chevron and large lotus petals. Of the eleven published specimens six (Figs. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8 and 9 in Altekar and Mishra 1959) bear patterns similar to those at Bhītargāon.[24] The rest have simple motifs not as complex as those of Rāmbhar in Kasiā, Suratgarh or Ahichchhatra temple V, the last of which will be discussed later. These bricks from Kumrahār have been assigned to the period between A.D. 300 and 450.[25]

We shall now discuss the bricks found at Ahichchhatra, Kasiā, Sārnāth, Śrāvastī and Bhītarī, where the degree of similarity in motifs is greater than at any of the sites discussed previously.

Ahichchhatra

Between 1940 and 1944 excavations were conducted at the ancient site of Ahichchhatra in district Bareilly of Uttar Pradesh and artifacts dating as far back as the third century B.C. were discovered. Unfortunately no report of the excavations was published and it is unlikely that it will ever be published now. Three papers based on these excavations were published, the first in 1946, in No. 1 of *Ancient India* on Pottery in Ahichchhatra by K.C. Panigrahi, with introduction by A. Ghosh,[26] in No. 4 of the same journal entitled "Terracotta Figurines of Ahichatra",[27] and in No. 8 of the same journal entitled "Beads from Ahichchhatra, U.P." by Moreshwar G. Dikshit.[28] None of these include a description of the ornamental bricks discovered. There is consequently no alternative but to consult the basic source material in the form of photographs made by the Archaeological Survey of India. These are contained in the photographic albums of the Survey and exclusive volumes exist for this site. Going through these volumes the following photographs of ornamental bricks were located.

Reference to volume	*Page*	*Photograph No.*	*No. of carved bricks illustrated*	*Provenance*	*Sub. No.*	*Description*	*Correspondence to motifs in Figs.* 12-13
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Ahichchhatra 40-41, 41-42 (Vol. No. not given).	81	66/304	1	Plot A.C. II		Complicated pattern with no similarity to motifs shown in Figs. 12-13	
Ahichchhatra 1941-43 (No volume no. given) contains photograph Nos. 476 to 668, 476 to 599 also numbered as 238 to 361 and 601 to 668 as 1 to 68.	7	496	1	AC II		Acanthus	36-38
	8	497	4	Not given	497.1	Lotus petals and corrugation	1 and 15
					497.2	Lotus petals and Chequers	1 and 10
					497.3	Acanthus and zig-zag line	37 and 14
					497.4	Acanthus	31 and 37
	8	498	2	AC II	498.1	Lotus petals with chequers	8
					498.2	Lotus petals	1
,,	9	499	2	AC II	499.1	Acanthus and dog-tooth	37 and 16
					499.2	,,	,,
	9	500	2	AC II	500.1	Lotus petals and corrugation	2 and 15
					500.2	Lotus petals and crenellations	1 and 25
	9	501	2	Location not given	501.1	Lotus petals, chequers, wavy line probably pedestal of pilaster	1, 10 and 14
					501.2	Lotus petals and double chequers	1 and 12
	10	502	2	AC II	502.1	Acanthus above and below, wavy pattern in middle	30 and 14

Contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
					502.2	Lotus petals with chequers in stepped pattern	1 and 13
	10	503	2	AC II	503.1	Lotus petals, dog-tooth, Acanthus	1, 16 and 30
					503.2	Dog-tooth and Acanthus	16 and 30
	14	511	1	AC II Temple II		Lotus petals	1
	15	514	1	,,		Wavy pattern	14
	15	515	1	AC II Temple II		Upper part chequers, lower in cord motif, not familiar at Bhītargāon	10
	15	516	1	,,		Corrugation	15
	15	517	1	,,		Dog-tooth	16
	15	518	1	,,		,,	16
	15	519	1	,,		Chequers	10
	16	521	1	AC II		Patterns not familiar at Bhītargāon	—

[Photograph nos. 508, 509, 510, 512, 513 are of individual bricks numbered above as 501.1, 499.1, 498.1, 497.3, 502.2 respectively.]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Ahichchhatra Vol. 5, 1942-43	42	758	Numerous	Temple V South-west of Temple II		Though each photograph contains a large stack, only three distinct patterns emerge. These are of bricks which do not bear complete patterns but part of a pattern which joined with others would make a design and the same would be repeated over and over again as at Parauli.	
Ahichchhatra Vol. 6, 1940-44	74	71	86	Terrace A of Temple I from south.		Given below in diagram	
	79	85	1	Not given		Chequers	12
	79	86	1	AC II		*Svastika* and palmette	None
	80	87	1	AC I		Wavy line alternating with chequers	19
	80	88	1	,,		Acanthus	31

Contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	80	90	1	AC I		Chequers forming a stepped pattern	13
	80	91	1	Not given		Two concentric curved incisions	None
	80	92	1	AC I		Stepped pattern	39
	80	93	1	,,		Wavy line alternating with chequers	19
	80	94	1	,,		,,	19

Since photograph no. 71 contains illustrations of 86 decorative bricks it is necessary to adopt a scheme of their analysis. The bricks are interspersed with plain ones. There are two stacks, the lower one smaller and containing mostly plain bricks and the upper one larger and containing numerous ornamental bricks. These two stacks are separated by a wooden plank. A total of 17 rows could be identified—13 in the upper and four in the lower. There are four to nine bricks in each row. There is a strong resemblance in the motifs with those of bricks at Bhītargāon. For facility of reference these are being numbered in the following diagram. P refers to plain bricks; numbers to decorative ones.

Bricks in photograph 71 as from left to right.

Row No.	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*
1.	P	P	1	P	P	2	P	P	
2.	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	P	
3.	10	11	12	12	14	15	16	17	
4.	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
5.	27	28	29	30	31	32	33		
6.	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
7.	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	
8.	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	
9.	59	60	61	62	63	64			
10.	65	66	67	68	69	70	71		
11.	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	
12.	P	P	P	P	P				
13.	80	81	P	P	P	P	P	82	P
Plank at this level									
Total	11	11	11	10	10	11	9	7	2
14.	P	83	P	P	84	P	P	P	P
15.	P	85	P	P	P	P	P	86	
16.	P	P	P	P					
17.	P	P	P	P					
Total of 14 *to* 17	—	2	—	—	1	—	—	1	—
Grand Total	11	13	11	10	11	11	9	8	2

The total number of ornamental bricks is 86. Of these the pattern on Nos. 32 and 82 are indistinct. This leaves 84 bricks. The patterns on these when compared to those illustrated in Fig. 12 and 13 *infra*, show that broad lotus petals (Fig. 12.5), Chequers (Fig. 12.10), Chequers forming a stepped pattern (Fig. 12.13), Chequers alternating with line in cord pattern (Fig. 12.19) and stepped pattern (Fig. 13.39) are common and all comparable motifs are confined to these five patterns.

The frequency is indicated as follows :

Brick No.	*Motif*	*Brick No.*	*Motif*	*Brick No.*	*Motif*	*Brick No.*	*Motif*
1	19	22	5	43	39	64	5
2	10	23	5	44	39	65	5
3	39	24	39	45	39	66	5
4	39	25	5	46	39	67	5
5	19	26	5	47	39	68	5
6	13	27	5	48	39	69	5
7	13	28	5	49	39	70	5
8	39	29	D	50	39	71	5
9	39	30	13	51	19	72	5
10	5	31	13	52	19	73	5
11	39	32	I	53	19	74	5
12	39	33	19	54	19	75	5
13	5	34	39	55	19	76	5
14	39	35	19	56	19	77	5
15	13	36	19	57	19	78	5
16	5	37	13	58	19	79	13
17	5	38	19	59	5	80	39
18	5	39	5	60	5	81	39
19	5	40	39	61	5	82	I
20	39	41	39	62	5	83	39
21	13	42	39	63	5	84	19
						85	39
						86	39

Of the 86 decorative bricks, only one (No. 29 above) has a pattern which could not be identified with any of the examples at Bhītargāon. The pattern on two (Nos. 32

and 82 above) is indistinct, and the remaining 83 have motifs similar to those at Bhītargāon. Cumulatively these are as follows :

Motif no. in Figs. 12-13	No. of examples in stack in photograph No. 71
5	33
10	1
13	8
19	15
39	26
Indistinct	2
Dissimilar	1
Total	86

Motifs nos. 5, 13, 19 and 39 have been used in the ring courses at Bhītargāon and no. 10 in pilasters. Most of the bricks in the stack from Ahichchhatra appear therefore to have originally decorated ring courses of structures, which have long since vanished.

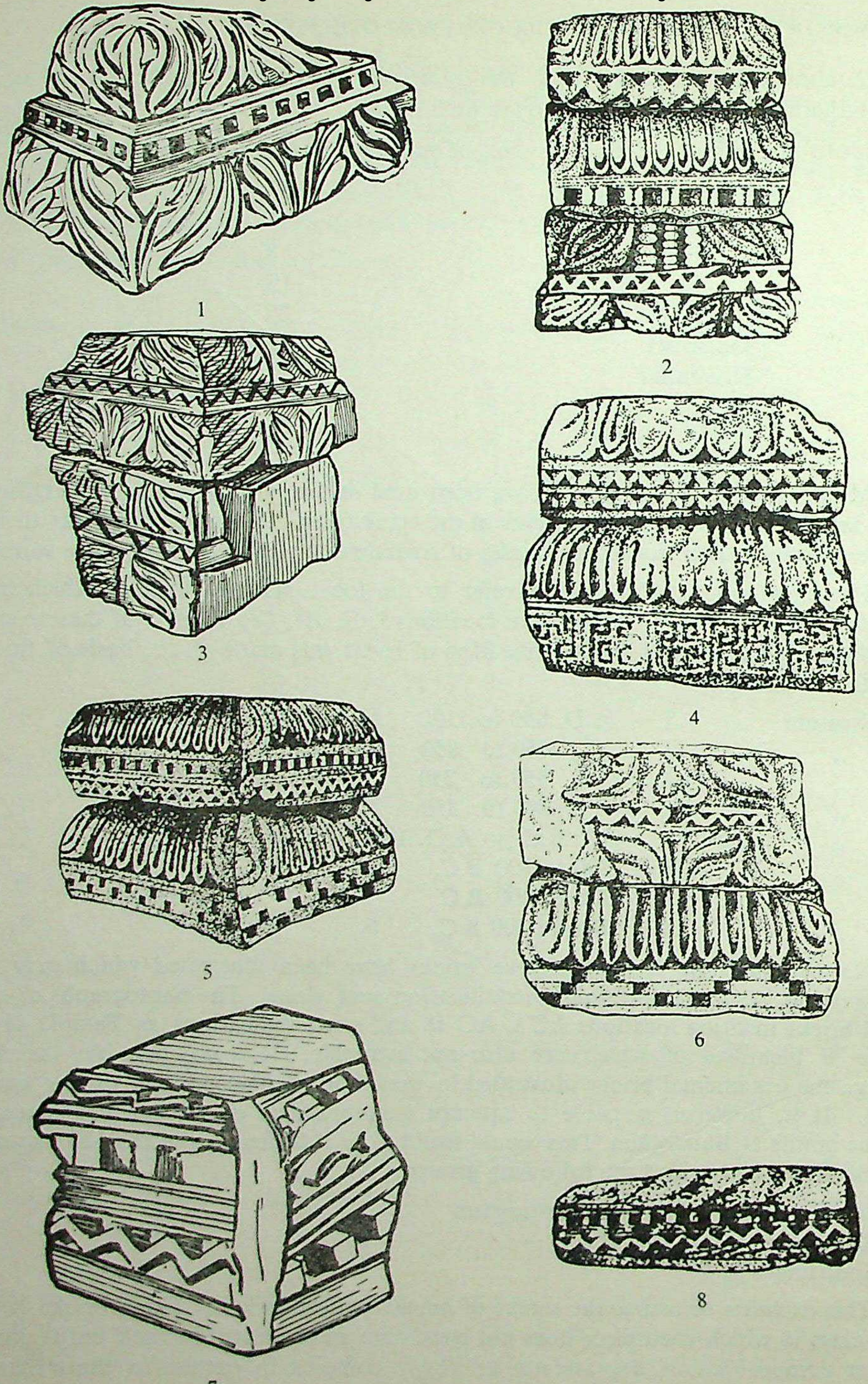
The expressions AC I, AC II refer to the locations excavated at Ahichchhatra between 1940 and 1944.[29] There were locations I, II, III, IV, V, etc. Of these location III had the highest mound and stratification of levels was made on the basis of finds at this site as follows :[30]

Stratum	I	A.D. 850 to 1100
,,	II	,, 750 to 850
,,	III	,, 350 to 750
,,	IV	,, 100 to 350
,,	V and VI	100 B.C. to A.D. 100
,,	VII	200 to 100 B.C.
,,	VIII	300 to 200 B.C.
,,	XI	Before 300 B.C.

No examples of any decorative bricks have been illustrated which may have been found in A.C. III for which stratification was done. The photographs of ornamental bricks mention locations AC I, AC II and such indications as Temple II and Temple V locations of which are also not available. It is not possible, therefore, to assign the ornamental bricks illustrated in the photographic albums to any specific period. It is, however, possible to attempt a comparison on stylistic considerations with the motifs at Bhītargāon. This would lead to the classification of the 120 examples of bricks listed above into the following groups.

Motifs similar to those of Bhītargāon	113
Dissimilar	5
Indistinct	2

This excludes of course the stacks of repeat pattern bricks. These bricks belong to the class in which each piece does not constitute an ornament in itself but is part of a larger composition. They are not as highly complex in pattern as those found at



3.4 Carved bricks from Ahichchhatra.

Rāmbhar in Deoria, but are more akin to those used at Parauli or in the brick temples of Madhya Pradesh and appear, therefore, to belong to a period later than those of the rest. Fig. 34 contains line drawings of 15 representative bricks from Ahichchhatra, which have motifs common with Bhītargāon.

Vol.	Photograph no.	Fig. infra	No. of bricks illustrated
Not given	496	34.1	1
	497	34.2	4
	499	34.3	2
	500	34.4	2
	501	34.5	2
	502	34.6	2
6	87	34.7	1
	94	34.8	1

Kasiā

More than 70 years ago two very significant discoveries were made by J.Ph. Vogel at the site of the Nirvāna temple at Kasiā. These relate to the cornice and pilasters of *Stūpa* 14 near the Nirvāna temple and the pilasters of the early plinth of the Nirvāna temple itself.[31] We shall first consider the cornice. According to Vogel "No. 14 is a *stūpa* basement 15′ square at the ground level, and is not only conspicuous by its size but still more by its decoration of carved brick work. The sub-joined drawing will replace a detailed description. It shows the building restored in its original state. For it was found leaning over to the south as if shaken by an earthquake, and deprived of several of its pilasters and of the greater portion of its cornice. The latter is only partially extant on the west side. But enough remains to render its restoration on paper possible.... *Stūpa* no. 14 as shown on plate XIV[32], Fig. 5, will convey some idea of the original aspect of the early plinth on which the temple and *stūpa* of the *Nirvāṇa* now stand. It is true that the pilasters are of varying designs and alternate with Buddha figures placed in niches. Yet the similarity of decorations point to the same date."[33]

Unfortunately the illustration is of a diminutive size and the pattern on the bricks used for the pilasters cannot be accurately discerned. However, the bricks on the cornice are very distinct. The cornice above the pilasters is composed of only two courses of bricks, the first course being of stepped bricks as in Fig. 13.39. The second course is that of large lotus petals (Fig. 12.5). The cornice of *stūpa* 14 at Kasiā was exactly similar to the second and third courses of the cornice at Bhītargāon except that the order is reversed. The lower cornice at Bhītargāon as compared with the upper one of *stūpa* 14 is :

	Stūpa 14 at Kasiā	*Bhītargāon*
1st course	Stepped bricks	Bricks with oblique chequers
2nd course	Broad lotus petals	Broad lotus petals
3rd course	None	Stepped bricks

The second and third courses at Bhītargāon correspond exactly to the second and first courses, at Kasiā and the size and pattern of the bricks also appear to be exactly alike.

We come now to the pilasters of an earlier plinth of the Nirvāna temple. It would be well to quote Vogel again in extenso. He writes, "The excavations revealed the interesting fact that the plinth on which these buildings stand, contains remains of an earlier structure, characterised by a row of deep niches alternating with pilasters of carved bricks."[34] "It is a question of great interest, whether the earlier plinth with the niches can have belonged to this temple or formed part of some still earlier building. I feel inclined to assume the latter alternative, though my explorations have not yet yielded any conclusive proof. The following points may, however, be noticed...Carved bricks of the same type, now preserved in the Lucknow Museum, are said to originate from Ahīchatra. They were discovered by Dr. Führer, who assigns them to the first and second centuries B.C. This date seems somewhat too early, but they may belong to the Kuṣana period."[35]

No attempt to reconstruct the pilasters of this earlier plinth appears to have been made, and the remnants shown in Vogel's Pl. VIII(a) are altogether inadequate to give a clear idea of the form or the motifs used, except for the pedestals of two of the three pilasters. The drawing of the pilasters in *Stūpa* 14 appears, however, to have been based on the remnants shown in photograph No. 289 in U.P. Vol. V, 1903-05 of the photographic documentation of the Archaeological Survey of India. The elevation in Fig. 35.1 *infra* has now been drawn on the basis of this photograph. The main points of similarities and dissimilarities with Bhītargāon will now be considered.

The pedestal in Bhītargāon has four members. In Kasiā there are only three members. The shaft in Bhītargāon consists of six courses of bricks; of which two are hexagonal and one semi-circular. The shaft at Kasiā consists of four courses of which only the third is hexagonal and the fourth semi-circular. The capital at Bhītargāon consists of (*i*) support, (*ii*) cushion, (*iii*) pot or *kalaśa*, and (*iv*) neck and rim. In the simplified pattern in Kasiā it has the support, *kalaśa* and rim, but there is no cushion. The abacus at Bhītargāon has the thickness of two courses of bricks but at Kasiā there is no abacus. The motifs at Kasiā are also simpler. It appears that the pilaster at Kasiā was an earlier form from which the later more elaborate type of Bhītargāon evolved. There are unfortunately no illustrations of individual bricks from Kasiā, nor could any documentation in the form of photographs be discovered, in the archives of the Archaeological Survey.

Sārnāth

"The most interesting structure brought to light inside this enclosure", says the report for 1921-22..."is a fascinating *stūpa* plinth (No. 136) built entirely in brick and faced with elegant carvings which in beauty of decorative detail far excel any other structure yet brought to light at Sārnāth.... They are in typical Gupta style and display a variety of motifs remarkable in so small a structure."[36]

While other bricks used in the wall of the plinth are not similar to those of Bhītargāon there is a very close resemblance between the cornice bricks (Fig. 35.2) and those of Bhītargāon. The cornice of this *stūpa* in Sārnāth is exactly similar to that of *stūpa* 14 of Kasiā, except that in Sārnāth the lower course is that of upward pointing lotus petals and the second that of stepped bricks. A number of ornamented bricks from Sārnāth are documented in the Photographic Album of the Archaeological Survey of India.[37]

Their particulars are as follows :

Page No.	*Photograph No.*	*No. of items illustrated*	*Sub. No.*	*Particulars*	*Resemblance with motifs from Bhītargāon (N.C.= No. correspondence)*
1	2	3	4	5	6
35	204	14	1	Fragmentary with indistinct motif	
			2	Large lotus petals with central incision	12.5
			3	As in no. 2 but with smaller petals in between	12.5
			4	As in no. 3	12.5
			5	Lotus petals with beads in vertical position	N.C.
			6	Geometric pattern	N.C.
			7	Slender lotus petals	12.1
			8	Spear shaped object—Perhaps not a brick	N.C.
			9	Stepped pattern	13.39
			10	Acanthus	13.30
			11	Round object not a brick	—
			12	Fragment showing parallel petals	12.1
			13	Stepped pattern—Fragment	13.39
			14	Lotus petals as in no. 2	12.5
35	205	12	1	Broad lotus petals	12.6
			2	Complex motif	N.C.
			3	,,	,,
			4	Lotus petals as in 204.2	12.5
			5	Plain brick with margin incisions	N.C.
			6	Lotus petals as in 204.2	12.5
			7 to 9	Parts of terra-cotta figures	
			10	Stepped pattern	13.39
			11	Part of pedestal. Narrow lotus petals	12.1
			12	Complex motif	N.C.

Contd.

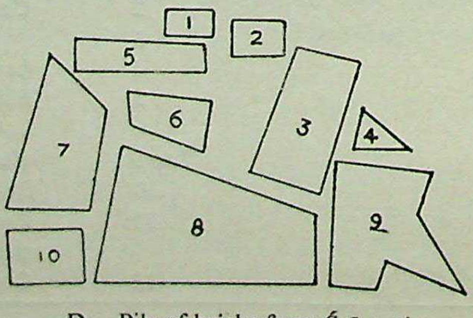
1	2	3	4	5	6
36	206	8	1	Chequers	12.12
			2	,,	12.12
			3	Complex pattern	N.C.
			4	Chequers	12.12
			5	Same as no. 205.5	N.C.
			6	Part of a terra-cotta panel	—
			7	Four petalled flower	13.40
			8	Acanthus motif	13.30
36	208	5	1	Half *kalaśa* with lotus petals	12.1
			2	,,	12.1
			3	Half *kālaśa* with wavy line	12.1 and 12.14
			4	Full *kalaśa* with chequers	12.8
			5	Full *kalaśa* with linear inicisions	12.1

Of the 35 ornamental bricks illustrated, 24 bear motifs similar to those employed at Bhītargāon. The rest do not correspond to any of the patterns illustrated in Fig. 12 and 13. By way of examples the following representative samples have been illustrated in Fig. 36.1 to 36.5.

Photograph No.	Sub. No. for brick	Fig.
204	3	36.1
,,	7	36.2
205	1	36.3
,,	10	36.4
206	7	36.5

Śrāvastī

A brick from Śrāvastī discovered and illustrated by Cunningham about a century ago bears one of the motifs used at Bhītargāon[38] (Fig. 12.13). As no further published illustration of ornamental bricks from Śrāvastī could be traced, we are once more obliged to fall back upon the photographs in the albums of the Archaeological Survey of India. In the album entitled U.P. Vol. 1908-09, photograph No. 372 illustrates six bricks, No. 373 shows only one and No. 379 depicts parts and pieces of ten bricks stacked in a pile but with their ornaments exposed. For facility of reference these have been numbered as in the diagram D.



D. Pile of bricks from Śrāvastī.

The extant to which the motifs employed at Śrāvastī correspond with those of Bhītargāon has been indicated in the following analysis.

Page	*Photograph No.*	*No. of bricks Illustrated*	*Sub. No.*	*Description*	*Resemblance with motif at Bhītargāon*
25	372	6	1	Chequers	12.12
			2	Complex pattern	N.C.
			3	Lotus petals	12.3
			4	Fragmentary abacus	N.C.
			5	Cable pattern	N.C.
			6	Same as 4	N.C.
25	373	1	—	Stepped pattern	13.39
28	379	10	1	Small circular incisions	N.C.
			2	Chequers	12.11
			3	Four petalled flowers and wavy lines	13.40 & 12.14
			4	Wavy line	12.14
			5	,,	12.14
			6	,,	12.14
			7	Dog tooth	12.16
			8	Wavy line and four petalled flower	12.14, 13.40
			9	Chequers	12.11
			10	Small circular incisions	N.C.

Of 17 ornamental bricks illustrated, 6 have no corresponding patterns while 11 resemble motifs used at Bhītargāon.

Representative examples in photograph No. 372.3, 372.5 and 373 are illustrated in Fig. 37.1 to 37.3 respectively.

Bhītarī

In order to determine the so far unknown archaeological context of the inscribed sandstone column erected by Skanda Gupta (A.D. 455-67) excavations were conducted at Bhītarī in the season of 1968-69 by K.K. Sinha of the Benaras Hindu University. In the course of this digging a sunken brick structure was discovered which contained ornamental bricks. Among the collapsed debris were found inscribed brick fragments mentioning the legend Śrī Kumāra Gupta.[39] A few of the ornamental bricks discovered are now kept in the University. These are described below :

No.	*Description*	*Corresponding motif employed at Bhītargāon in Fig. 12 and 13*
40	Semi-circular part of capital of Pilaster bearing lotus petal motiff (Fig. 38.1)	4
89	Chequers of diaper and chevron being parts of the pedestal or capital of a pilaster (Fig. 38.2)	19
99	Palmette pattern, eleven leaves on either side of a vein in the centre (Fig. 38.3)	49
98	Stepped pattern (Fig. 38.4)	39

The sample from Bhītarī is unfortunately very small, but the correspondence of all the ornaments to those at Bhītargāon indicates that the Bhītarī finds may well be contemporary with Bhītargāon.

Pakna Bihār

Almost a hundred years ago, Cunningham mentioned and also illustrated eleven ornamental bricks found in Paknā Bihār in district Farrukhabad six miles from Sankissā where inscriptions from the Kuṣāna period together with some coins were also discovered. Two, No. 2 and 6, deserve special attention since they are very much similar to the *kalaśa* and pedestal, respectively of the pilasters in the plinth of *Stūpa* 14 at Kasiā described earlier.[40] There is also a close resemblance between No. 2 with certain motifs (Fig. 12.5 and 12.14) in the capitals of pilasters No. 7 (Fig. 18) and 21 (Fig. 27) at Bhītargāon. The lower and upper decorations of the capital of pilaster 7 combined with the central band of the capital of pilaster 21, is an exact replica of No. 2 from Paknā Bihār. Similarly brick No. 6 from Paknā Bihār in the pedestal illustrated in Pl. XI (6) of Cunningham's report in Vol. XI, would correspond to the pedestal of pilaster No. 7 from Bhītargāon (Fig. 18) if the two lines of chequers below and above the chevron were removed.

Newal.

In Pl. XVIII of the same report three ornamental bricks discovered in Newal, district Unnao[41] have been illustrated as No. 5, 6 and 7. There is considerable similarity between No. 2 of Pl. XI from Paknā Bihār just mentioned and No. 6 of Pl. XVIII, from Newal. Nos. 5 and 7 from Newal have an acanthus motif similar to that at Bhītargāon (Fig. 13.30). These bricks from Newal are doubtless contemporary with those of Paknā Bihār as well as those of the pilasters of *Stūpa* 14 at Kasiā and the early plinth of the Nirvāna temple. For reasons which will be discussed in Chapter 10 the ornamented bricks of Bhītargāon may be regarded as less than a century later than those of either Paknā Bihār, Newal or *Stūpa* 14 at Kasiā.

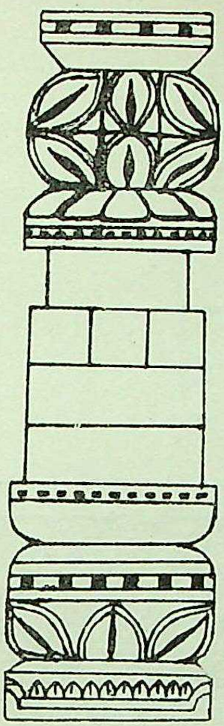
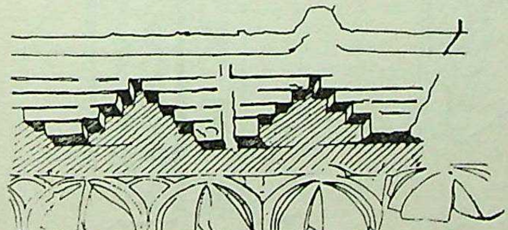


Fig. 35.1. Elevation of Pilaster from plinth of *Stūpa* 14 at Kasiā.



35.2. Cornice of *Stūpa* 136 at Sarnath.

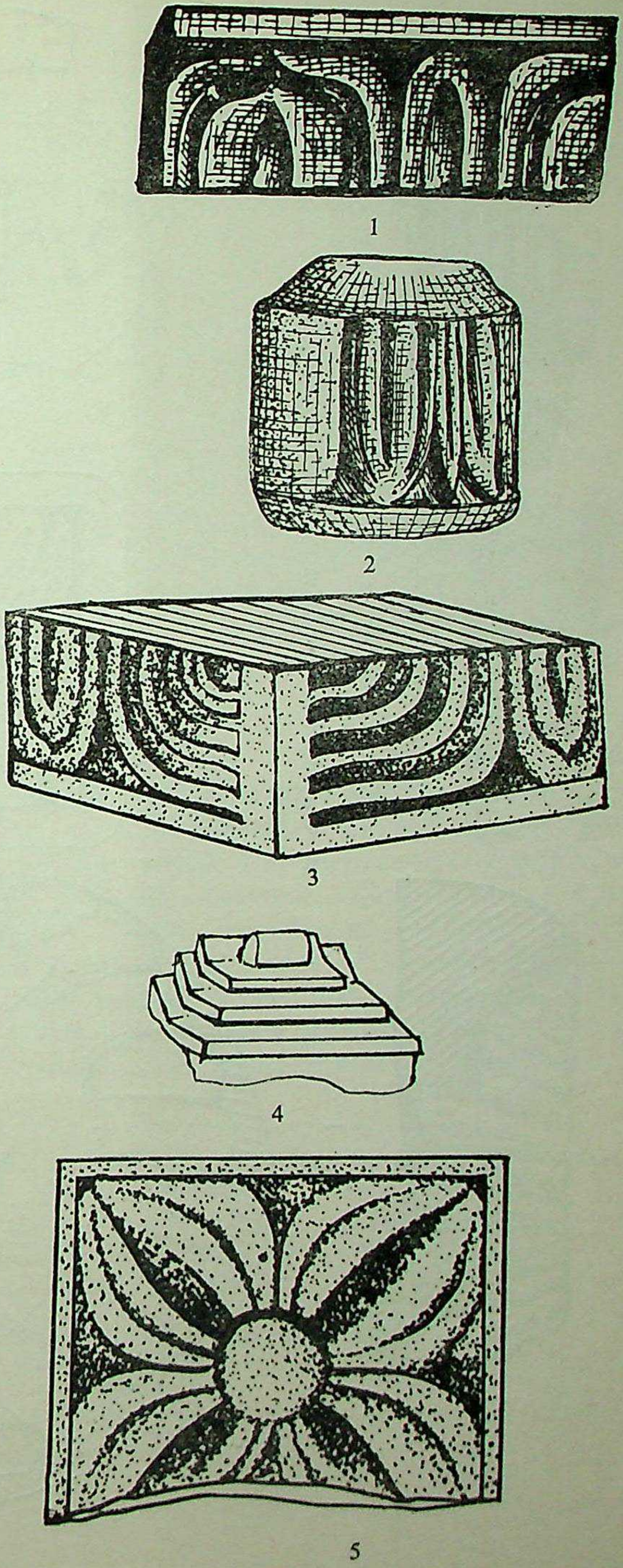
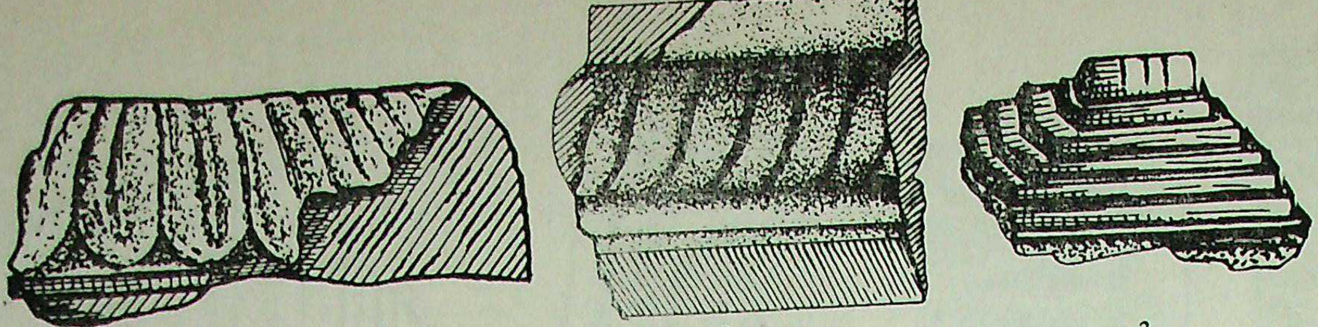
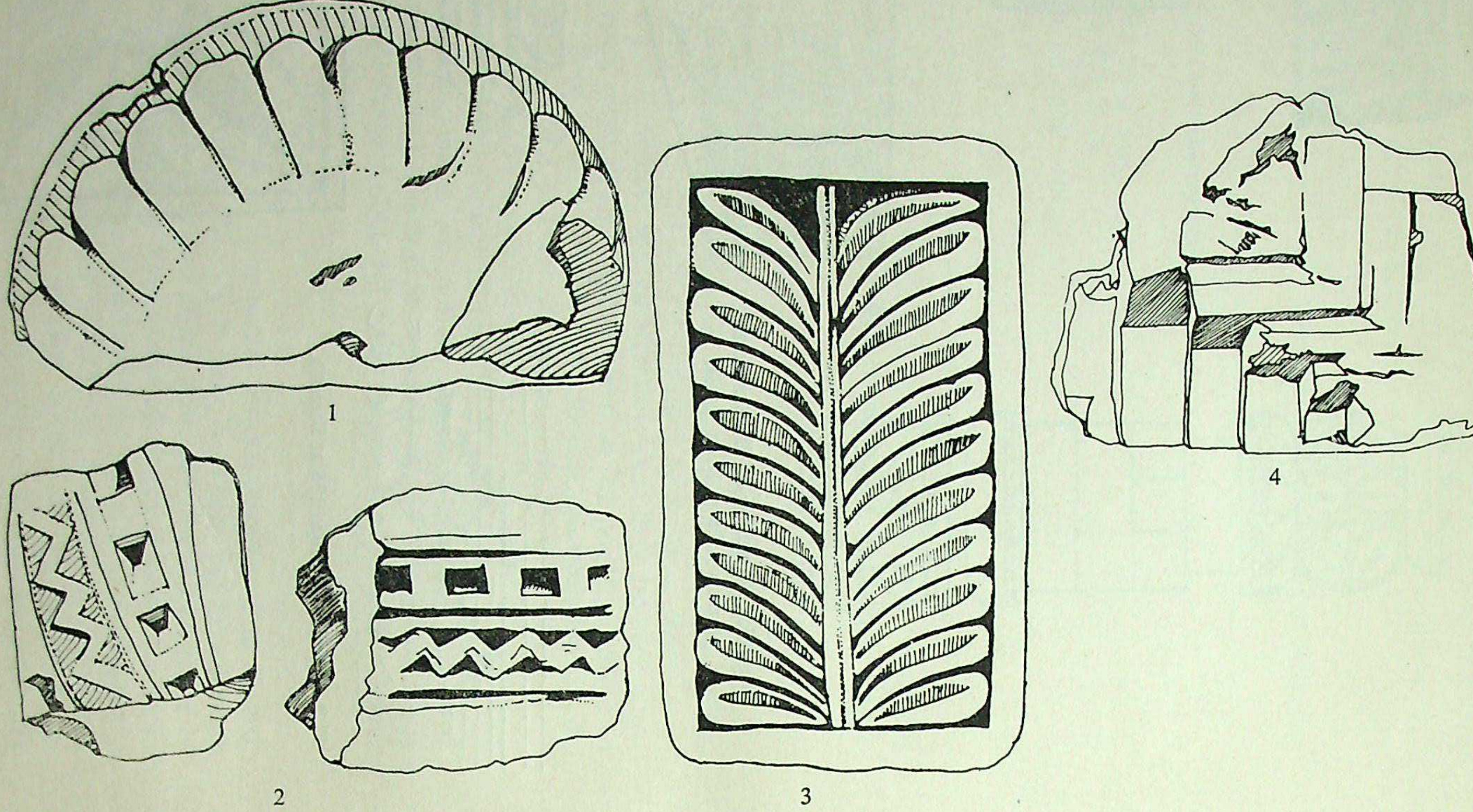


Fig. 36. Carved bricks from Sarnath.



1 2 3

37. Carred bricks from Śrāvastī.



1 2 3 4

38 .Carved bricks from Bhītarī.

So far we have examined carved bricks in relation to their resemblance to those at Bhītargāon and after starting with the most dissimilar groups came to those with greater similarity, ultimately reaching one with which almost total correspondence can be established. The ensuing analysis is meant to provide a chronological order to the four groups of sites and their finds, based on considerations of similarities of motifs and composition of architectural members.

Group 1

The bricks which should be placed earliest in chronological order are those found at Paknā Bihār and those forming the pilasters in the plinth of *Stūpa* 14 at Kasiā. The order of the pilasters of *Stūpa* 14 appears to be earlier than that of Bhītargāon. The shaft is shorter by the thickness of two bricks and the capital has neither a cushion nor an abacus. Thus it appears to be an earlier form of the full fledged order seen at Bhītargāon. The pattern on the pedestal and capital both is less developed though there are variations in each pilaster. The cornice has only two courses instead of three. Paknā Bihār may be placed in the same category on the ground of the exceptional similarity of the *kalaśa* with that of Kasiā. Since Paknā Bihār is dated in the Kuṣāna period,[42] it would not be unreasonable to assume that the plinth of *stūpa* 14 at Kasiā as well as the pilasters on the plinth of the Nirvāna temple at equal level, also dated from the Kuṣāna period.

Group 2

We now come to Ahichchhatra, A.C. I and A.C. II, Bhītarī, Śrāvastī, Sārnāth *stūpa* No. 136, and Bhītargāon. These appear to be contemporary with each other in view of the overwhelming similarities which we have noticed. The bricks have comparatively simple patterns in which the lotus, chequers, acanthus, flowers and simple geometrical motifs, such as squares within squares, crenellations and chevrons are employed. It would be interesting to apply the principles of statistical analysis assuming, in view of the absence of any preconceived bias, that the collection of the existing sample may be regarded as random and, therefore, represents the totality to which it relates. If this exercise is undertaken the results would be somewhat as follows :

Site of source	*Total No. of bricks illustrated*	*No. which corresponds to motifs at Bhītargāon*	*% of columns 3 to 2*
Ahichchhatra	120	113	94
Sārnāth	35	24	69
Śrāvastī	17	11	65
Bhītarī	4	4	100

In descending order the similarity would be :

Bhītarī first, Ahichchhatra second, Sārnāth third and Śrāvastī fourth.

Group 3

The third group would contain the sites, the ornamental bricks of which are more sophisticated and bear intricate patterns. Their use was probably not confined to pilasters, balusters, cornices and borders of sculptural relief panels only, but extended to other applications also, such as compositions of large sculptural reliefs. This group would include Badopāl, Sūratgarh, Rangmahāl area, Nagarī, Mirpur *Khās*, Pattan Mānāra, Vaiśālī and Mahāsthān. We have already observed that there are similarities in a few items, but on the whole the style is different as it becomes ornate, complicated and more formalized and is no longer neat in its aesthetic conception. There is one feature common to groups two and three. Each brick provides an ornament and where a string course was intended bricks of the same and repeated patterns were used.

Group 4

The fourth group would include Sirpūr, Kharōd, Tēr, Paraulī, Ahīchchhatra site V, south west of A.C. II, and Rāmbhar. The common characteristic of these bricks was that they were no longer individual and self-sufficient objects of ornamentation. Their contours are so fashioned that they can form a larger composition when joined together in a predetermined order. In the same way as blocks of stone are dressed in advance and used in order to create an architectural feature, ornamental bricks now came to be employed as building bricks. Bricks lose their character and individuality and became cheap copies of stone. There is a significant absence of pilaster members. Bricks meant for ring courses are discarded. While the earlier structures used plain brick for walls and ornamental ones for pilasters and cornices, a tendency now developed for the deployment of overall or extensive patterns composed of ornamental bricks. They served the purpose more of mouldings and baroque coverage of the entire facade than of ornaments.

Though the structures for which such bricks were used in Rāmbhar and Ahīchchhatra temple V, south west of temple II are not known, the conclusions are based on the similarity of these bricks to those of the extant examples in this group.

It is difficult to explain the significant change which appears to have occured somewhere about the 7th Century A.D. It is quite possible that with the increasing use of stone the individuality of brick architecture was suppressed and was mad subservient to the current fashion in stone.

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CHAPTER V

ARRANGEMENT AND SEQUENCE OF TERRACOTTA PANELS

On the many distinctive features of the temple, the recessed plan, and the steep *śikhara* have been mentioned already. In the previous two chapters we have dealt with the extensive utilization of carved bricks and highly ornamental pilasters. The composition, theme and artistic features of terracotta panels have been discussed in chapter VI. In this chapter it is proposed to give the locational description of these panels and the architectural features associated with them.

In all eight distinct rows of reliefs could be identified in which there is linear arrangement and continuity. Of these the fifth and seventh tiers have only one panel each though more niches without panels exist in the same line. The rest have between three and 87 niches and from three to 57 panels. The largest number of niches and panels are in the second tier which is composed of a ring course. Above the eighth row no systematic arrangement now exists, and the few panels left have been mentioned in relation to the face on which these are fixed and their height from the ground level.

First row of panels

In the first row of panels there are 25 niches in the outer walls of the temple meant for the insertion of an equal number of panels but only 18 now remain. Broadly speaking, these panels are of three sizes. Those in the central part of the wall are about 77 cm high and 63 to 67 cm wide. The size of the panels placed in the recesses is slightly smaller. Those in the first recess are about 76 cm high and 48 to 58 cm wide. The panels in the second recess are even smaller in relation to the flanking wall space and measure about 64 to 70 cm in height and 33 to 35 cm in width. These proportions are aesthetically well balanced in relation to the area of the wall used. The largest panels have been used where the frame is large and the expanse of the wall considerable. In the first recess the height of the wall space is the same on all sides but the width is narrower. The architect who designed the temple decided not to use panels of uniform height and width though this would at first thought have seemed preferable. He allowed his aesthetic judgment to prevail over the dictates of symmetry with the result that with a width of two metres he allowed the height of the panel to be 76 cm. When the space was reduced in the second recess to about one metre he diminished the height of the panels by 6 to 12 cm. A proportionately greater reduction was made in their width. Where the width of the wall space was 5 m and three panels were inserted the breadth of each panel is about 66 cm. On the other hand, when the breadth of the wall is reduced to two metres and only one panel was to be inserted, he allowed a width of from 48 to 58 cm notwithstanding the fact that proportionately more space was available. In the second recess the width of the wall space is about one metre and the height is obviously the same, viz. 2.60 m, but both the height as well as the width of the panel has been reduced. The panels in this recess are 64 to 70 cm high and from 33 to 35 cm wide. This constitutes a good proportion in relation to the reference space available. The placing of the wall pilaster—as distinct from corner pilaster—has also been arranged with the object of achieving greater proportion. We shall now proceed to the analysis of the panels on each face tier by tier.

A word may first be said about the measurements. The width as well as the height is not exact on both sides. The mean of the two sides has, therefore, been adopted. Panel No. E.1.4 (Fig. 60) may be taken as an example. The dimensions are :

Left height	68.6 cm
Right height	68.9 cm
Top width	33 cm
Bottom width	34.4 cm

The height and width adopted are 68.8 and 33.7 cm respectively. For the sake of convenience, these have been rounded to 69×34 cm. The panels have been numbered according to their location proceeding on the same tier or row on one face from left to right. The prefix refers to the direction, the first number to the tier in relation to the height, and the second to the serial number on the particular face. Thus, N.3.26 refers to the 26th panel on the northern face which is located in the third tier.

In the following tables, the recess nearer the central part of the wall has been treated as the first and the one further away as the second. The serial number of the panel on the particular face starts from the left and goes to the right and then continues in the successive upper tiers with the same sequence.

First tier of panels

Face	*Location*	*Niches*	*Number of panels extant*	*Size in cm*	*Panel No.*	*Subject*	*Fig. No.*
East	SE Recess 2	1	1	60×34	E 1.1	Viṣṇu on Garuḍa	57
	,, 1	1	1	77×55	E 1.2	Gaṅgā	58
	NE ,, 1	1	1	77×58	E 1.3	Yamunā	59
	,, 2	1	1	69×34	E 1.4	Un-identified figures	60
South	SW Recess 2	1	1	71×35	S 1.1	Ascetic	62
	,, 1	1					
	Central wall	3	3	77×63	S 1.2	Śiva flaying elephant	63
				77×66	S 1.3	Gaṇeśa	64
				77×67	S 1.4	Śiva & Pārvatī	65
	SE Recess 1	1	1	76×51	S 1.5	Viṣṇu with *Āyudhapuruṣas*	66
	,, 2	1					
Total South		7	5				
West	NW Recess 2	1	1	70×34	W 1.1	Nāga with recumbent figure	70
	,, 1	1					
	Central Wall	3	2	77×65	W 1.2	Viṣṇu as Varāha *Avatāra*	71
				77×64	W 1.3	Viṣṇu with *Āyudhapuruṣas*	72
	SW Recess 1	1					
	SW Recess 2	1	1	70×35	W 1.4	Four-armed goddess	73
Total West		7	4				
North	NE Recess 2	1					
	NE Recess 1	1	1	77×48	N 1.1	Gajalakṣmī	76
	Central wall	3	3	77×63	N 1.2	Viṣṇu destroying demons	77
				76×66	N 1.3	Durgā destroying demons	78
				76×66	N 1.4	Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma	79
	NW Recess 1	1					
	NW Recess 2	1	1	64×35	N 1.5	Archer	80
Total North		7	5				
Total of first row		25	18				

Second row of panels

The second row has a continuous line of oblong reliefs. This exquisitely decorated band runs uniformly all around the temple on the central walls as well as in the recesses. Of the total of 128 terracotta panels now extant 57 are included in this row. Consequently, this is the most richly decorated part of the temple. The bottom frame is provided by the top of the cornice above the pilasters, and another higher cornice, with features similar to the lower one forms the frame along the top. The height of this band including the two cornices is 112 cm while the height of the panels is only 24 cm. The width of the panels varies according to subject matter, the shortest being about 10 cm and the longest almost 50 cm. To provide vertical frames and to separate panels from each other, two devices have been used. One is to insert a narrow vertical terracotta panel almost the size of a modern brick measuring 24×10 cm. Only ten such reliefs now remain on the temple, four on the north, and two each on the east, south and west. The other device is to employ chequered or foliated patterns at intervals between oblong terracotta panels. These are generally part of the long oblong panels though separated by clear lines and distinguished also by their independent subject matter. The distribution of these vertically placed frames is as follows :

	Geometrical patterns	Terracotta reliefs
East	4	2
South	15	2
West	9	2
North	13	4
Total	41	10

The subject matter in the 10 panels in this row varies but most of them represent animals or mythical creatures, the *makara* being very prominent. The total number of the ring course reliefs originally included in this row can be estimated from the number of niches some of which are now vacant. Particulars of the panels in the second row are as follows :

Face	*Location*	*Niches*	*No. of panels extant*	*Size in cm*	*Panel No.*	*Subject*	*Fig. No.*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
East	SE Recess 2	3	3	24×46	E 2.5	*Makara*	170
				24×10	E 2.6	Standing female figure	112
				24×33	E 2.7	Bird with foliated wings and tail	180

Contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	SE Recess 1	4					
	Central wall						
	NE Recess 1	4	2	24×10	E 2.8	Standing female figure	113
				24×43	E 2.9	*Makara*	171
	NE Recess 2	2	1	24×38	E 2.10	Foliated motif	190
	Total East	13	6				
South	SW Recess 2	3	3	24×41	S 2.6	Men and animals	152
				24×12	S 2.7	*Mithuna* couple	121
				24×36	S 2.8	*Mithuna* couple	122
	SW Recess 1	4	3	24×45	S 2.9	Mythical animal	160
				24×51	S 2.10	Animal with foliated limbs	161
				24×39	S 2.11	Foliated motif	191
	Central wall	9	9	24×39	S 2.12	Foliated motif	192
				24×41	S 2.13	Peacock	181
				24×49	S 2.14	Winged lion	162
				24×36	S 2.15	Peacock	182
				24×42	S 2.16	Peacock	183
				24×43	S 2.17	Man being devoured by crocodiles	153
				24×41	S 2.18	Two lions with single head	163
				24×42	S 2.19	Peacock	184
				24×41	S 2.20	Two *makaras* back to back	172
	SE Recess 1	5	3	24×10	S 2.21	*Makara*	173
				24×45	S 2.22	Mythical animal	164
				24×36	S 2.23	Mythical animal	165
	SE Recess 2	4					
	Total South	25	18				
West	NW Recess 2	2	2	24×45	W 2.5	Peacock	186
				24×41	W 2.6	Reclining female figure	116
	NW Recess 1	5	5	24×52	W 2.7	Procession	154
				24×46	W 2.8	*Gaṇa*	93
				24×48	W 2.9	Rider on bull with attendants	155
				24×10	W 2.10	Standing figure	94
				24×24	W 2.11	Warrior in coat of mail	95

Contd.

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Central wall	9	4	24×20	W 2.12	Foliated motif	193
				24×10	W 2.13	Warrior in coat of mail	96
				24×43	W 2.14	Warrior attacking elephant	156
				24×42	W 2.15	*Makara*	174
	SW Recess 1	4	3	24×49	W 2.16	Wrestlers	149
				24×40	W 2.17	Two male figures	86
				24×41	W 2.18	*Makara*	175
	SW Recess 2	2	1	24×48	W 2.19	Bird	187
	Total West	22	15				
North	NE Recess 2	4					
	NE Recess 1	4	4	24×40	N 2.6	*Makara*	176
				24×41	N 2.7	Foliated motif	194
				24×41	N 2.8	Bird	188
				24×40	N 2.9	Foliated motif	195
	Central wall	11	7	24×10	N 2.10	Man riding a cleft-footed animal	157
				24×41	N 2.11	*Makara*	177
				24×10	N 2.12	Standing figure	97
				24×46	N 2.13	Two foliated human figures	87
				24×47	N 2.14	*Makara*	178
				24×45	N 2.15	Unidentified subject	199
				22×46	N 2.16	Mythical animal	166
	NW Recess 1	6	6	24×22	N 2.17	Animal without foliations	167
				24×10	N 2.18	Standing figure	98
				24×46	N 2.19	Man and cloven-hoofed animal	158
				24×10	N 2.20	Standing male figure	99
				24×46	N 2.21	Human figures	88
				24×48	N 2.22	Woman with two other figures	89
	NW Recess 2	2	1	24×45	N 2.23	Elephant and lion	168
	Total north	27	18				
	Grand Total	87	57				

The photograph of the eastern face taken in 1877 and reproduced in Cunningham's report[1] (Fig. 44) is of little assistance in determining the disposition of the panels. However, another one taken at about the same time but reproduced in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1908-09[2] (Fig. 46) provides some help. This picture has been taken from the south-west and the view of the temple in this photograph corresponds with a picture taken recently (Fig. 46 and 47). The old photograph reveals a special feature viz. that there were kudus containing tiny panels in the mouldings above and below the running frieze. Even in a photograph taken as late as 1909 this feature still appears. These kudus which can be seen in the details of the southern and northern faces (Fig. 50 and 51), were obviously filled up in the course of later restorations (Fig. 47).

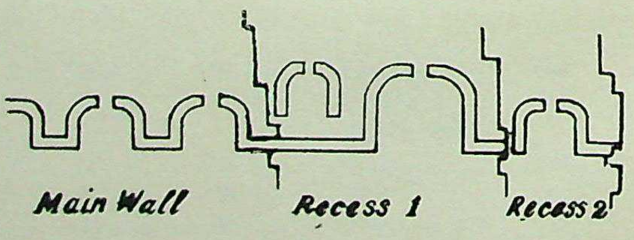
Second Cornice

It has been mentioned already that the lay-out of the cornice above the small panels is similar to that of the one below. The only difference is that, whereas in the lower cornice the middle projection consists of bricks with the stylised pattern of lotus petals, in the upper cornice it is made up of ornamental bricks showing a cord pattern interrupted at intervals by a band decorated with a quatrefoil or multifoil flower as in Fig. 13.40 to 13.43.

Third row of panels

We come now to the topmost level of the body of the temple below the *śikhara*. This part is more extensively damaged than the rest of the temple. Commencing from the cornice above the continuous frieze, we first have 12 courses of bricks and then one row of terracotta panels inserted in horse-shoe shaped niches which act as frames for these reliefs. These niches are different from those found on other Indian monuments dating from the Gupta period. Instead of being pointed at the top these are semicircular.

Each one of the second narrow recesses has only one niche (Illustration E). The first recess has two each—one large and one small. The top of the small niche is level with that of the large one. The base of the smaller niche therefore, lies 24 cm above that of the larger niche. This arrangement is, however, peculiar to the first recess only. On the central wall and the second recess the size of the niche is the same as that of the small niche on the first recess. Their base is, level with that of the small niche in the first recess. It is thus on the same level as the base of the large niche in the first recess. Thus, only the niche flanking the larger one in the first recess is out of level while the rest, including those on the central wall have all their bases on one line. The central wall has five similar niches which are approxi-



E. Gavaksas in third row of terracotta reliefs.

mately of the same size as that on the second recess. This feature is without exception, repeated on all the four faces, except for the central part of the east side. There may have been a different treatment of the *ardhamaṇḍapa*, but we cannot attempt a reconstruction owing to the damaged condition of this part of the temple. The niches are in two shapes—horse-shoe and semi-circular. These are formed by means of mouldings comprised of two courses of bricks, the outer one plain and the inner one carrying moulding in lotus petal motif. Horse-shoe shaped niches are open at the top while those which are semicircular are continuous and uninterrupted.

There are niches for eleven panels on each side except on the east. The base of the panels is 5.68 m above the ground level. Brief particulars of the panels in the third row are given below :

Third row of panels

Face	*Location*	*Niches*	*Number of panels extant*	*Size in cm*	*Panel No.*	*Subject*	*Fig. No.*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
East	SE Recess 2	1	1	30×30	E 3.11	Legs of kneeling figure	90
	,, 1	2	2	61×39	E 3.12	*Mithuna* couple	119
				30×30	E 3.13	Unidentified subject	197
	NE ,, 1	2	1	61×39	E 3.14	*Mithuna* couple	120
	NE Recess 2	1	1	31×28	E 3.15	Seated male figure	91
	Total East	6	5				
South	SW Recess 2	1					
	,, 1	2	1	30×28	S 3.24	Standing male figure	102
	Central wall	5	4	31×26	S 3.25	Viṣṇu strangulating two demons	67
				32×28	S 3.26	Nâga Deity	68
				31×25	S 3.27	Krṣṇa killing Vriṣabhasura	69
				32×29	S 3.28	Kneeling figure	92
	SE Recess 1	2	1	29×24	S 3.29	Unidentified subject	198
	,, 2	This was the southern wall of *ardhamaṇḍapa*.					
	Total South	10	6				

Contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
West	NW Recess 2	1					
	,, 1	2	2	63×38	W 3.20	*Mithuna* couple	123
				29×27	W 3.21	Standing male figure	104
	Central wall	5	3	30×30	W 3.22	Standing male figure	105
				30×29	W 3.23	Seated male figure	106
				32×27	W 3.24	Warrior attacking adversary	150
	SW Recess 1	2	2	31×24	W 3.25	*Mithuna* couple	124
				63×40	W 3.26	*Mithuna* couple	125
	SW Recess 2	1	1	20×25	W 3.27	Rāma and Sītā	74
	Total Wẹst	11	8				
North	NE Recess 2	This was the northern wall of *ardhamaṇḍapa.*					
	NE Recess 1	2	2	63×40	N 3.24	*Mithuna* couple	126
				32×27	N 3.25	Seated male figure	100
	Main Wall	5	3	31×27	N 3.26	*Mithuna* couple	127
				31×30	N 3.27	Kṛṣṇa slaying elephant Kuvalayāpidha	81
				33×28	N 3.28	Standing male figure	109
	NW Recess 1	2	2	31×25	N 3.29	Seated male figure	110
				62×39	N 3.30	*Mithuna* couple	128
	NW Recesss 2	1					
	Total North	10	7				
	Total for 3rd row	37	26				

The top of the third row of panels can be regarded as the dividing line between the body and the *śikhara*, for the temple starts to taper upwards at this point. In the

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course of restoration, the bricks of this part of the monument were left in the same disorderly jumble in which they were found. Consequently a clear-cut division or recession of courses tier by tier is difficult to discern.

There are three rows of panels in the lower quarter of the *śikhara* and only eight sporadic panels in the upper three quarters.

Fourth row of panels

Counting upwards, the fourth line of niches is represented by a few small *gavākṣas* still visible on the central wall of the south face, and a few corresponding remnants on the western side. Apart from the base line of carved bricks no traces are left on the northern face. It appears that the remains of the original *kūḍus* were obliterated during restoration. The features on the eastern side are likely to have been substantially different from those on other sides owing to the projecting structure of the *ardhamaṇḍapa*. But as already mentioned the eastern side collapsed in the late 19th century and no conjecture is possible.

On the central wall of the south face there are six *gavākṣas* three of which contain terracotta panels showing heads peeping out of the window. Assuming that the size of the remaining *gavākṣas* was the same there must have been a total of ten *kūḍus* on this side in the fourth row, two more on the south-east and the same number towards the west. On the west face there are six bases of the *kūḍus* but the upper delineation no longer exists except for faint traces of one to the left. On the north this row of *kūḍus* has been replaced entirely with plain bricks, but traces of their bases remain.

The particulars of the *gavākṣas* and panels in the fourth row are as follows :

Face	*Location*	*Niches*	*Number of panels extant*	*Size in cm*	*Panel No.*	*Subject*	*Fig. No.*
East	There are no frames or panels.						
South	SW Recess 2	—	—				
	SW Recess 1	—	—				
	Central wall	6	3	13×10	S 4.30	Head of female	138
				13×10	S 4.31	Head of female	142
				13×10	S 4.32	Head of female	137
	SE Recess 1						
	SE Recess 2						
West	There are no frames or panels.						
North	There are no frames or panels.						
	Total	6	3				

Fifth row of panels

There is only one niche on each of the first recesses of the southern and western face. It is placed a little higher than the level of the windows on the main wall in the fourth row, owing to the intrusion of the high arch of the large panel in the third row. There are no corresponding *kūḍus* on the second recess of any side.

Particulars of the niches and the single extant panel in this row are as follows :

Face	*Location*	*Niches*	*Panels extant*	*Size in cm*	*Panel No.*	*Subject*	*Fig. No.*
East	There are no frames or Panels.						
South	SW Recess 1	1	1	13×10	S 5.33	Head of male	147
	SE Recess 1	1					
West	SW Recess 1	1					
North	The arrangements has been considerably modified during restoration and no trace of the panels except for remnants of the base on the Ist recess towards north exists.						
	Total	3	1				

Sixth row of panels

This row consists again of *gavākṣas* with heads peeping out of windows in the ancient tradition or architectural decoration. It is confined to the central wall of the south and west sides. On the north it has been introduced on the recesses, due to wrong restoration. Details of the sixth row of niches and panels are as follows :

Face	*Location*	*Niches*	*Number of panels extant*	*Size in cm*	*Panel No.*	*Subject*	*Fig. No.*
East	NE Recess 1	2					
	NE Recess 2	1					
South	Central wall	3	1	19×15	S 6.34	Head of female	143
West	NW Recess 2	1					
	NW Recess 1	2					
	Central wall	5	3	20×17	W 6.28	Head of female	129
				20×18	W 6.29	Head of femele	139
				20×17	W 6.30	Head of female	130
North	NE Recess 1	2					
	Central wall	6	3	23×22	N 6.31	Head of female	146
				23×22	N 6.32	Head of male	148
				23×22	N 6.33	Standing female figure	117
	NW Recess 1	2	1	23×22	N 6.34	Head of female	144
	NW Recess 2	1					
	Total	25	8				

Seventh row of panels

At this level on the east face (Fig. 4), in the first recess towards the south, there are two niches, and even these are damaged, and not in alignment. On the first recess to the north the corresponding space has been filled up with bricks. There were apparently no *gavākṣas* in this row on the central face of the walls. On the south, there are two niches on the first recess towards west, the nearer one fairly complete but without any panel (Fig. 5). The other niche is completely blocked with bricks. There are faint indications of the existence of corresponding niches on the first south-eastern recess but these are partly blocked. On the western face four niches can be observed, two each on the first recesses on both sides. The niches on the north-western recess have the full frame of ornamental bricks, but those on the south-western first recess are damaged. None of these have terracotta panels. The same feature occurs on the north. Of the eleven niches located in this row, only one contains a head; the rest are either blocked or vacant. The details of the niches and only extant panel in the seventh row are as follows :

Face	*Location*	*Niches*	*Number of panels extant*	*Size in cm*	*Panel No.*	*Subject*	*Fig. No.*
East	SW Recess 1	2					
South	SW Recess 1	1					
West	NW Recess 1	2					
	SW Recess 1	2					
North	NE Recess 1	2					
	NW Recess 1	2	1	32×32	N 7.35	Head of female	131
	Total	11	1				

Eighth row of panels

The frames in the eighth row correspond in size as well form with those of the third row. The latter has five niches on the central wall but as there was less space available higher up the eighth row has only four. Perhaps there were no *gavākṣas* in this row in the first recess, but there are remnants of them on the second recess. These were similar in shape and size to the niches in the second recess of the third row. Outlines of the frames on one recess each on the east, west and north can still be seen.

The particulars of the remaining *gavākṣas* and panels are as follows :

Face	*Location*	*Niches*	*Number of panels extant*	*Size in cm*	*Panel No.*	*Subject*	*Fig. No.*
East	SE Recess 2	1					
South	Central wall	3					
West	NW Recess 2	1					
	Central wall	3	2	31×31	W 8.31	Torso of standing male figure	107
				31×30	W 8.32	*Vidyādhara*	108
North	Central wall	4	3	29×29	N 8.36	Seated male figure with legs crossed	101
				30×30	N 8.37	Seated figure with lion's head	169
				31×32	N 8.38	Kneeling female figure	118
	NW Recess 2	1					
	Total	13	5				

The total height of the temple now is 15.41 m. The base of the eighth row is at the level of about half of the total height. The total number of niches upto this level are 207 and 119 panels only, are left in these *kūḍus*. Considering the fact that the taper of the *Śikhara* reduced the space available for decoration it would be safe to estimate that half this number could be accommodated in this part on all the four faces, or roughly about a hundred niches and panels. But today there are only nine panels left. However, the sporadic presence of broken rows of decorative bricks provides a clue to the existence of at least six more rows of niches. Above the eighth row, there are only scattered *gavākṣas* and no particular order is discernible though it undoubtedly did originally exist. No attempt has for this reason been made to estimate the original number of niches. At present there are remnants only of four frames on the east, five on the south, three on the west and four on the north. These contain a total of nine panels. The particulars of these are as follows :

Face	*Height of base of panel from ground level in m*	*Location*	*Number of panels extant*	*Size in cm*	*Panel No.*	*Subject*	*Fig. No.*
East	10.60	SE Recess 1	1	31×32	E 12.16	Man striking an adversary with a sword	61
South	8.75	SE Recess 2	4	30×25	S 10.35	Bird	185
				30×25	S 10.36	Reclining female figure	114
	9.60	SW Recess 1		24×20	S 11.37	Standing female figure	115
	10.80	Central wall		37×37	S 13.38	Seated male figure	103
West	8.32	NW Recess 1	1	58×51	W 9.33	Female figure offering bowl to male figure	75
North	8.32	NW Recess 1	3	54×52	N 9.39	Male figure with two female attendants	82
	8.32	NW Recess 1		47×52	N 9.40	Temptation of Nara Nārāyana	83
	11.90	NW Recess 1		Diameter 30	N 14.41	Lotus medallion	196
	Total		9				

A summary of the total number of niches and terracotta panels which adorned the temple until recently is given below :

Row of niches		*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9 to 14*	*Total*
Direction											
East	Niches	4	13	6	—	—	3	2	1	Not estimated	29
	Panels	4	6	5	—	—	—	—	—	1	16
South	Niches	7	25	10	6	2	3	1	3	Not estimated	57
	Panels	5	18	6	3	1	1	—	—	4	38
West	Niches	7	22	11	—	1	8	4	4	Not estimated	57
	Panels	4	15	8	—	—	3	—	2	1	33
North	Niches	7	27	10	—	—	11	4	5	Not estimated	64
	Panels	5	18	7	—	—	4	1	3	3	41
Total	Niches	25	87	37	6	3	25	11	13	Not estimated	207
	Panels	18	57	26	3	1	8	1	5	9	128

REFERENCES

1. A. Cunningham, Report of a Tour, VII—Bhitargaon, *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XI, Pl. XV.
2. J.Ph. Vogel, The Temple of Bhītargāon, *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1908-09, Pl. I.

CHAPTER VI

DESCRIPTION OF TERRACOTTA RELIEFS

There were, until recently, a total of 128 panels on the temple which have been photographed *in situ* and are included in this publication. In addition to these, there are two panels in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, and 12 could be identified as belonging to Bhītargāon from the large collection of terracotta reliefs in the State Museum at Lucknow. One panel has been illustrated in Cunningham's report but is no longer traceable. This makes a total of 143 panels which may be classified into the following categories :

	East	*South*	*West*	*North*	*In museums*	*Illustrated but not traced*	*Total*
1. Iconographic representations	5	8	4	7	2	—	26
2. Groups of human figures	—	—	3	4	—	—	7
3. Male figures	2	3	7	7	1	—	20
4. Female figures	2	2	1	2	—	—	7
5. *Mithunas*	2	2	3	3	—	—	10
6. Heads of females	—	4	3	3	8	—	18
7. Heads of males	—	1	—	1			2
8. Wrestlers	—	—	2	—	1	—	3
9. Men and animals	—	2	5	2	—	1	10
10. Animals other than *makara*	—	6	—	4	—	—	10
11. *Makara*	2	2	2	3	1	—	10
12. Birds	1	5	2	1	1	—	10
13. Foliated patterns	1	2	1	2	—	—	6
14. Lotus disc	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
15. Unidentified panels	1	1	—	1	—	—	3
Total	16	38	33	41	14	1	143

For the sake of thematic coherence it is proposed to describe them not in relation to their location but by subjects.

Iconographic representations

E 1.1, VIṢṆU ON GARUḌA, 69×34 CM, FIG. 57

This Panel is extensively damaged but a few features are never-the-less discernible. There are two figures – that of the god Viṣṇu and his vehicle the garuḍa. The details of the figure which is astride the garuḍa are obliterated. The only feature from which the composition can be identified is the *chakra* held in the left hand of the dominant figure. There are faint remnants of a bracelet which adorns the wrist holding the *chakra*. The face of the garuḍa is blurred but the torso, two arms, the left wing and part of the dress can still be observed.

E. 1.2, GAṄGĀ, 77×55 CM, FIG. 58

This panel too is considerably damaged. The main figure is standing on a *makara* and can therefore be identified as Gaṅgā, though very little of the image is now left. There is no trace of the face and upper torso. Part of the left arm, left hip and the two feet are all that remain. Remnants of the skirt wrapped on the lower torso and left leg can be seen. This is patterned with stripes. The uttariya with more bold markings can be observed at both its ends. On the left arm is an ornament of trefoil motif which has further been discussed in chapter IX.

There are two female attendants, a tall one to the right of the goddess and a short one to her left. The taller one holds a parasol over the goddess' head and is standing on a fish. The face, and upper torso of this figure is gone, only the abdomen, part of the left arm, lower torso, legs and feet remain. She is wearing a skirt with diagonal stripes which is gathered at the waist below the navel. There is no indication of any blouse; the upper part of the body was presumably bare. The smaller figure to the left of the goddess is shown in a crouching position. Only the torso, legs and feet can be seen; the rest has worn off. She also has a skirt on her. Remnants of a *makara* on which the goddess stands are visible; this consists of the right foreleg.

There is no trace of its head and upper body. The tail which goes up between the attendant on the right proper and the main figure, has bold and wide curves. The taller attendant stands on a fish the scales of which have been marked. There is a bird in flight on the left upper corner of the panel. The parasol occupies the corresponding space on the right. Its staff is held diagonally. The pennant has horizontal creases.

E. 1.3, YAMUNĀ, 77×58 CM, FIG. 59

This panel is so extensively damaged that no figures are visible. Since this panel occupies space on the right of the entrance corresponding to the one on the left of Ganga, the deduction is that it would have represented the river-goddess Yamunā. The other features which support this conclusion are the parasol and a bird. The parasol which occupies the left upper corner of the panel is symmetrical to the corresponding feature in the panel of Gangā. The staff and pennant has escaped the ravages of time. The bird on the right upper corner is more clearly defined than the one in the other panel.

The earliest representation of river goddesses is found on the temple in Udaigirī caves which is dated 401 A.D.[1] In later survivals of temples of the Gupta period and even subsequently, river goddesses are represented either on the central space of jambs or on the upper corners of entrance to the *garbagṛha*[2].

It would be worthwhile to repeat the discription of the goddesses Gangā and Yamunā as given by Vogel.

"In the present instance the panel on the proper right of the porch shows a female figure standing on what appears to be the *makara*—the vehicle of Gaṅgā (Plate IV and Fig. 3). She is attended by two smaller figures, one of which holds a parasol over the goddess, who seems to rest her left hand on the head of the other attendant standing in front of her. In her right hand she must have held a lotus-stalk, the flower of which is preserved in one of the upper corners of the panel. The corresponding panel on the proper left is almost entirely defaced, but the parasol in the upper corner nearest the entrance is still plainly visible".[3]

E. 1.4, UNIDENTIFIED FIGURES, 69×34 CM, FIG. 60

Except for the remnants of the feet of one of the figures no other features are visible. It appears, however, that there were two figures, the one on the proper right, male and the one on the left, female. This conclusion has been reached on the basis of the size of the feet. As this panel is in the first row, its composition is bound to have been of some iconographic significance and it has therefore been included in this group.

E. 12.16, MAN STRIKING AN ADVERSARY WITH A SWORD, 31×32 CM, FIG. 61

Of the panels on the eastern face, this one is the top-most. The modelling of figures does not have the same finish or elegance as in the rest of the panels and, of all the reliefs extant, this is the only exception. The treatment is, however, very forceful and bold, and owing to its dramatic content, the subject matter appears definitely to constitute an illustration to a story. Here, a warrior is shown attacking with a sword an adversary who has already fallen and who is trying to ward off the attack by pressing his right hand against the abdomen of the attacker. The face of the warrior wielding a weapon is unfortunately much damaged. Both figures are nude, but the warrior has a medal on his chest. The victim wears either a headgear or has an elaborate hair style, an incongruity considering the lack of apparel or any other covering. As there is a medal on the chest of the warrior the figure is more likely to be that of Kṛṣṇa, since he alone is represented as wearing on the chest the gem known as *Kaustubhamaṇi*. It could, therefore, be supposed that the panel represents the extermination of Kamsa at the hands of Kṛṣṇa. The headgear of the victim could in that case be regarded as Kansa's crown. There can be an alternative interpretation also. The figure of the discomfited victim can be regarded as that of Muṣtikāsura or Chanura, demon wrestlers of the court of Kansa who were slain by Kṛṣṇa and Balrāma.

S. 1.1, ASCETIC, 71×35 CM, FIG. 62

A male figure wearing *sanghāti*, the garment usually associated with Buddha images, is seated on a chair. The face, right forearm, left wrist and hand, and right leg are obliterated. The left foot is placed on a footrest (*pādapītha*), the lower portion of which is in the shape of an elephant's foot with prominent toenails. There is no halo, and the position of the arms and the erstwhile hands does not conform to any of those with which the Buddha figure is traditionally associated. There is no evidence that Buddha had been admitted to the Hindu pantheon before or during the Gupta period. For the earliest evidence so far available is that of the Kadvār temple in Saurāṣtra on which the figure of Buddha was represented as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.[4] This temple has been assigned to the 7th century A.D. Buddha himself is supposed to have adopted the customary raiment of saints. The wrapping of a *sanghāti* alone cannot be regarded as evidence of the figure representing Buddha. In the present case, the figure could be a representation of Kapila, the sage in whose form Viṣṇu is said to have been born. In the next panel also there is a figure wearing similar apparel.

S. 1.2, ŚIVA FLAYING ELEPHANT, 77×63 CM, FIG. 63

But for two short figures on the right, one of a male squatting and another of a female standing, and the base of a round pillar in the foreground, no other feature are clearly discernible. However, on the right hand top corner is a hand lifting an object with heavy folds. It stretches across the whole of the upper panel like a tent. This could be interpreted as representing the episode of Śiva killing the demon elephant and after skinning it covering himself with the hide.

There is a pedestal in the foreground. According to the story in the *Kūrmapurāṇā*, Śiva came out of his *liṅga* and th$\overset{e}{a}$n killed and flayed the elephant. The pedestal in front is most probably the remnant of the representation of the *liṅga*. The head of the elephant is clearly visible of the left; the figures on the right hand lower corner are in all probability attendants. The *śilpa* texts prescribe that the goddess should be shown standing on the left side of Gajāsurasamhāmūrti and trembling with fear.[5] Unfortunately, the figure of Devī is almost completely obliterated except for the feet. The position of the legs gives, however, the indication that she is moving away from the centre of activity.

S. 1.3, GAṆEŚA, 77×66 CM, FIG. 64

The panel is so extensively damaged that except for the head, parts of the arms, and a portion of the flank of the torso, nothing else remains. The god is wearing a fillet on his forehead from which an ornament is suspended. Early representations did not provide the deity with a crown, which was a decoration adopted during the late Gupta and medieval periods.[6] In the two representations of Gaṇeśa one in this panel and the other in the State Museum, Lucknow (Fig. 85); there is no crown. Had this been a stone carving, this would have been almost conclusive evidence of the panel dating to the 5th or an earlier century. But a certain amount of caution is indicated in the case of terracotta art. For it may be contended that the limitation imposed by clay modelling may have been responsible for this economy. This objection can, however, be easily met. If the general tradition dictated use of a crown, the modeller would have doubtless used these traditions, however crude may have been the result. The terracotta artist of Bhītargāon was not unfamiliar with the representation of a crown, as one can be seen on the head of Viṣṇu in fig. 72 and 84. Looking at the excellence of artistic craftsmanship demonstrated in most panels, it cannot be said that the modeller placed restrictions upon himself and adopted an earlier form only because he was using a simpler and less durable medium. The treatment of the figure of the god in this panel thus provides corroborative evidence for determination of the age of the temple.

S. 1.4, ŚIVA AND PĀRVATĪ, 77×67 CM, FIG. 65

On the upper plane are two headless but beautifully modelled figures. Remnant of three dwarfs can also be observed. There is an attendant on the right-hand top corner bearing a *chauri*. A *chauri*-bearer is likely to have been represented on the left also but no trace is visible. The presence of these attendants and also of gaṇas in the lower panel leads to the conclusion that the figures represent Śiva and Pārvatī. The modelling is exquisite and excels in aesthetic and sensuous appeal. The proud and virile posture of the god, the flexion of the torso of the goddess and the inclination of her upper body towards the god accentuated by the tender gesture of touching his arm lend a charm to this composition which makes it unique amongst all the other panels. The goddess has ornaments on her neck, upper arm and feet. These will be noticed again in chapter IX.

This panel bears a strong resemblance to the representation in Rāmeswara Cave No. 21 in which Śiva and Pārvatī are seated in the upper plane, and Śiva gaṇas are shown as sporting with the Nandī bull in the lower.[7] This panel dates back to the Vakataka period which was later than the period of the Bhītargāon temple. Since this is the panel *par excellence*, it would be well to dwell on the theme a little longer. At a game of dice with his consort, Śiva having no other worldly possessions, wagered his bull. When he lost the game he had to part with it. Gaṇeśa and the ganas are suposed to be engaged in playfully teasing the bull. Abhinanda describes the scene in the following words[8]:

Let go his horn, Bhṛṅgin and Gaṇeśa drop his tail
Ah, but you are sad Nandin ! Poor Mahākāla ! Clasp not his neck
With such words being led to the feet of Pārvatī
May the bull with turning neck and dewlap swaying,
Still looking at his three-eyed master who has lost at dice,
Bring you to happiness.

S. 1.5, VIṢṆU WITH ĀYUDHAPURṢAS, 76×51 CM, Fig. 66

The figure is four-armed. It is, therefore, that of a deity. There is a disc on the left at the top though not clearly visible in the picture; the representation is, therefore, of Viṣṇu with *Āyudhapurusas*.

The anthropomorphic representation on the left proper is that of the club (*gadā*) which is usually represented by a female figure, and on the right that of the wheel (*chakra*) for which a male figure is used. It is quite possible that the supplementary hands may have held the conch (*Śankha*) and lotus (*padma*). These are, however, not visible now.

S. 3.25, VIṢṆU STRANGULATING TWO DEMONS, 31×26 CM, FIG. 67

Here again the four-armed figure holds a disc in one of the right hands. It, therefore represets Viṣṇu. Madhu and Kaitabha are being strangled simultaneously with his powerful hands each of which holds a demon on either side. Agony, with the eyes almost bursting out of their sockets, is writ large on the faces of demons who are wearing a coat of mail. Though the head is missing, the muscular tension resulting from this engagement is reflected both in the torso and the arms of the god. One of the demons was carrying a heavy mace which is now lying on the ground. It is not common to come across sculptural compositions showing of Viṣṇu strangulating these demons with his hands and this panel has, therefore, a most singular iconographic importance.

S. 3.26, NĀGA DEITY, 32×28 CM, FIG. 68

A seven-headed snake spreads its hood protectively over the deity who sits in modified *padmāsana*. This is one of few panels left in which the face is more or less intact. The hair of the deity is arranged in ringlets and falls on either side of the face. The face is more round than oval. The eyes are clearly defined, the ears are not visible as these are hidden behind the falling hair, the nose is broad at the nostrils, the mouth large and the lips thick, the chin is short and round. The neck is short and hidden by the cheeks and chin. The chest is broad with muscular tapering towards the waist. The right arm has broken off and only the upper part of the left one remains. This could be the figure of Balarāma. This was one of the best panels but it is unfortunate that it was stolen some years ago and has not been recovered.

S. 3.27, KṚṢNA KILLING VṚIṢABHĀSURA, 31×25 CM, FIG. 69

A scantily clad figure is engaged in fight with a high-humped bull. This could be Kṛṣna slaying Vṛiṣabhāsura. Both figures appear to be straining in deadly combat. Notice for instance the pressure which the male figure is exerting on the toes of his left foot to get the right purchase to subdue his adversary. The human figure shows only traces of the head with part of the hair. Both arms are broken but the powerful right shoulder can be observed. The chest ribs, waist, abdomen, thighs, legs and feet are intact and show excellent modelling. The dress is a breach-clout tied at the right. The figure of the bull has also been boldly modelled.

W. 1.1, NĀGA WITH RECUMBENT FIGURE, 70×34 CM, FIG. 70

On the coils of one or more serpents reclines a figure in the upper third of the panel. Only the left thigh and the left upper arm remain, the rest have decayed. It would be hazardous to regard this as a representation of Śeṣaśāyi-Viṣṇu. A serpent-hood ornament appears on the left arm of the figure. This ornament has been further discussed in chapter IX.

W. 1. 2,VIṢṆU AS VARĀHA AVATĀRA, 77×65 CM, FIG. 71

The figure is on the central panel on the west and constitutes one of the bases for assuming that the temple was dedicated to Viṣṇu. The deity is lifting *Prithivī* or *Bhūdevī* with his left hand. Of the three figures in this panel, the central one is that of Varāha, the one on proper left is of *Bhūdevī* and a diminutive one of a female attendant on proper right. The details of the head and face have decayed and have therefore been obliterated. A special feature of this panel is that the head of the *avtāra* is small in proportion to the powerful body. In later representations this disproportion does not occur. There is a forward stoop in the attitude of the god. This bears a very close resemblance to the representation of Varāha *avatāra* at Udaigirī.[9] In the latter representation also, the right hand is on the waist and the left rests on the raised knee conveying power in the very stance. He wears on the arms and wrists and also on the thighs *Vaijayantīmāla* made from lotus flowers and leaves of the lotus plant. Very little of the figure of the goddess now remains. Only the torso and upper part of the legs can be seen. She wears a draped dress which has delicate folds. An attendant stands on the right of the god. The modelling of even this diminutive figure is highly refined and the folds of her garment have been clearly brought out.

W. 1.3, VIṢṆU AND ĀYUDHAPURUṢAS, 77 × 64 CM, FIG. 72

This panel contains a rare depiction of an eight-armed Viṣṇu in his Trivikrama form. There are three figures in this panel, the central one being that of the deity. The face is decayed but the outline of the rest of the body, dress and ornaments is well defined. One upper right hand holds a club, and a lower one rests on the female figure on his right which personifies *gadādevī*. The first and second hands on the left are likely to have held disc and bow. The left normal hand holds a conch. The third left hand, the fingers of which are still intact rests on the further shoulder of the *Chakrapuruṣa*. The fourth comes down on the rear right shoulder and arm of the same *Āyudhapuruṣa*. The god is adorned with a garland of lotus flowers, and is attired in a wrapped garment. He also wears a necklace which rests on his chest. On the normal right upper arm he wears an arm-band with trefoil pattern of serpent-hoods. There are some features in this panel which are very significant. *Gadādevī* is on the right of the deity and not on the left as usual. The *gadā* is held by two of the additional right hands, the third one rests on the shoulder of the *Āyuddhapuruṣa*. The chakra is seen above the *Chakrapuruṣa*. There is no *yajñopavīta* but a *vaijayantīmāla*. Such representation of *Āyuddhapuruṣas* was a feature of early and premedieval sculpture. Another special feature lending support to the antiquity of the temple is the absence of an elaborate crown and the existance of exposed curls of hair between the forehead and the rim of the headgear.

W. 1.4, FOUR-ARMED GODDESS, 70×35 CM, FIG. 73

The figure is doubtless that of a goddess as it is four-armed. She holds in her left upper hand a cup, which leads to the conclusion that it is the image of Durgā. The other arms are mutilitated as is also the head. The figure has been most delicately carved. At the line of the ahdesion of the waist knot of the skirt, there is slight fleshy tumescence, a feature known as *trivalī taranga*. It is met with frequently in ancient stone sculpture. The weight of the body appears to rest on the right leg which bends forward and the foot is placed half in and half out of the door step, the lines of the leg showing a graceful curve. The *Uttarīya* is a beautiful lace work scarf which covers both the shoulders and the upper bust, the breasts being undraped. The scarf is wrapped around the normal right hand and cascades down the lower left after passing over the shoulders and the bust. The lower garment or *antarīya* is a tastefully folded warp with a parting in the middle. One end of the *sarī* is tucked out and falls in folds in front. The folds of the skirt run in horizontal and diagonal pleats. Jewelled bracelets adorn the wrists, and anklets the feet.

The delicately moulded anklets on the feet and bracelets on the two complimentary arms deserve special notice.

W. 3.27, RĀMA AND SĪTĀ, 20×25 CM, FIG. 74

The panel illustrates the legend of Kākāsura. The son of Indra came in the form of a crow and repeatedly pecked at the bosom of Sītā, when Rāma's head was resting in her lap. Sītā in her dutiful devotion bore up with the pain stoically without uttering any sound lest it should disturb her lord in his sleep. When drops of blood fell from Sītā's body on to his face, Rāma awoke with a startle and was filled with indignation at the antics of the crow. He got up, picked up a blade of grass (*darbha*) from the cushion on which he was resting and after pronouncing *Brahmāstra* flung it at the crow. The crow sought refuge with the celestials but it could not be saved from the strong spell of *Brahmāstra*. Finally it came and fell at Rāma's feet to ask for forgiveness. In his kind heartedness, Rāma allowed it to remain alive but only after the loss of one eye. In this panel, Rāma is seated on the left with a halo round his head and the darbha which looks almost like a missile is shown as the upper part of an arrow. Sītā is seated on the right with marks of wound on her chest. In between the two figures are remnants of the representation of the crow.

W. 9.33, FEMALE FIGURE OFFERING BOWL TO MALE FIGURE, 58×51 CM, FIG. 75

A woman is coming out of a house holding a round pitcher with both hands. In front of her stands a man. Both are headless. It appears as if the woman is offering the water pot to the man. In the background is the door of a house, and above it a short projection on which rests a bird which resembles a pigeon. The upper frame of the door is ornamented with three circles. The woman wears a *sārī*, the folds of which overlap at the left where it is tucked in; the other part is carried back and thrown over from the waist diagonally across the bosom to pass over the left shoulder.[19] The woman wears no ornaments. The male figure, wears a stiff skirt which has a clasp in the middle. There is a richly decorated sash which is draped from the right hip to the left shoulder. The dress of this figure is altogether different from that of any other male in the various panels on the temple. That of the woman also varies from that of other female figures. In the case of most other men, only loin cloth is shown and sometimes a pair of close fitting breeches. Women are generally bare above the waist, the scarf draped only on the hands and shoulders. The lower torso and legs of other figures are generally covered with a *lungī*-like dress. One could hazard a guess that this may represent Rāvaṇa coming to Sītā's hut in disguise and asking for water.

There is, however, a remarkable resemblance between this panel and a stone relief sculpture from Nachnā Kutharā, in Madhya Pradesh, of the fifth century A.D. but now kept in the National Museum. There is a wall on the left, and a fruit-laden tree behind it. Outside the wall is the figure of a standing woman slightly bent backwards and offering with both hands an object which appears to be foodstuffs placed on the palms joined together. The offer is being made to a man who faces her and who wears a wrapped skirt, which is stiff and without any crease. The theme and composition is the same and the dress of the male figure has a remarkable degree of resemblance to that of the panel at Bhītargāon.[11]

N. 1.1, GAJALAKṢMĪ, 77×48 CM, FIG. 76

The height of the panel is the same as that of most panels on the first tier but is narrower in width in order to conform to the space setting on the first recess on the north-east. The figure is very badly worn out as a result most probably of weathering. The rendering in Vogel's measured drawing of 1909 is however a little clearer and is of some help in interpretation.[12] The central figure is that of a female; on each side is an attendant. It appears to be the figure of goddess Lakṣmī who stands on a lotus. She wears a wrapped garment similar to the one in figure N. 1.4 (Fig. 79) and there is a suggestion also of a scarf draped on the left hand. The attendants are about half the height of the central figure. Elephants, now obliterated, stand on either side on pedestals formed by full-blown lotus flowers with stalks issuing from the flower on which the goddess stands. There is a lotus flower also above the head of the goddess.

There are numerous representations of goddess Lakṣmī standing on a lotus flower flanked by elephants with trunks raised known as *abhiṣeka* or bathing of Lakṣmī. Lakṣmī is usually attended by *apsaras*, and is invariably shown as being lustrated with water from elephant's trunks. From the earliest times it was the invariable practice not only in Brahminical but also Buddhist and Jain monuments to represent Lakṣmī standing or sitting on a lotus flower flanked by elephants. One of the earliest examples dating back to the first century B.C. is that of Lakṣmī on a doorway from Sanchi.[13] Similar representations have been found at Bharhut, Udayagirī,[14] Varaha Cave at Mahābalīpuram[15] Amaravatī, Bodh Gaya and numerous other places.[16] At Bhīta in Allahabad, at least three seals were found representing Lakṣmī flanked by elephants with raised trunks. Seal No. 32 dating to the Gupta period represents the goddess standing on a lotus with the elephants also standing on similar flowers. In seal No. 35 besides the elephants there are two human attendants also on the lower plane parallel to the legs of the goddess. In seal No. 42, again of the Gupta period, the elephants are pouring water from their trunks but there are no human attendants.[17]

N. 1.2, VIṢṆU DESTROYING DEMONS, 77×63 CM, FIG. 77

This panel again is very badly damaged. There are remnants of a four-armed figure in the centre inclined towards its left and about to hurl with force an object held in the right normal hand. This may be regarded as the representation of the god Viṣṇu killing demons.

N. 1.3, DURGĀ DESTROYING DEMONS, 76×66 CM, FIG. 78

The four-armed goddess appears to hold with the left hand and probably also the right, an object which looks like a rope but is supposed to be a bow while she strangles with the two normal hands demons on either side of her; the victims are already on their knees with limp bodies. These would according to legend, be Śumbha and Niśumbha. They wear coats of mail similar to those seen in the panel in which Viṣṇu is shown as strangling Madhu and Kaitabha (Fig. 67). The goddess is attired in the usual lower garment tucked in on the left. A scarf appears on the right and also on the left. She is adorned with necklace, arm-bands and bracelets. In the background of the panel and on the right side are studded two small lotus flowers.

N. 1.4, KṚṢṆA AND BALARĀMA, 76×66 CM, FIG. 79

This panel is in two parts, the lower one is badly damaged and only part of a torso with the left arm is visible. The upper one is also mutilated as the heads and most other details are gone but a few features can still be seen. To the left is a seated four-armed figure wearing short breeches; the left leg is flexed with soles visible; the right is placed below on a square foot-rest. To the left of the deity is a shorter squatting figure protected by a canopy of serpent hoods which, judging from the distribution of the remnants, are likely to have been seven in number. Since Balarāma is regarded as a serpent-deity, the figure on the right can be held to represent him. By association and also because of the presence of four arms which is a godly attribute, the other figure may be that of Kṛṣṇa.

N. 1.5, ARCHER, 64×35 CM, FIG. 80

It is extensively damaged and only part outline of a human form is visible. There is a most prominent quiver which nominates the possessor as an archer. This panel does not strictly qualify for being included in the list of iconographic panels, since there are no manifest signs of the figure being that of a deity. It is, however, in the first row of panels all of which have iconographic significance. It may therefore be surmised that it represents Rāma.

N. 3.27, KṚṢṆA SLAYING ELEPHANT KUVALAYĀPĪDHA, 31×30 CM, FIG. 81

The details in this panel are largely well preserved. The elephant kneels with its trunk folded beneath its head while blows are being dealt to it by the rather boyish figure which almost mounts the adversary. The juvenile warrior wears a brief loin cloth, has a medal hanging from the neck and a prominent armlet on the upper left arm. A medal on the chest (*Kaustubhamaṇi*) is a marked attribute of Kṛṣṇa; this could be the illustration of the story of Kṛṣṇa overpowering Kansa's state elephant.

N. 9.39, MALE FIGURE WITH TWO FEMALE ATTENDANTS, 54×52 CM, FIG. 82

The male figure in the centre is richly attired and is adorned with ornaments. It is, alas, headless. The left foot rests on a bolster, and the right hangs down. The left hand is placed on the raised knee. The right hand is broken at the wrist. The fingers of the left hand which is only partly damaged are slender and long and show oval manicured nails. In addition to the *dhotī*, he wears an *uttarīya* which covers the shoulders and the upper part of the chest. Across the chest and coming down to below the waist is a chain made of circular rings with oblong ornaments interlinked. On the upper arm he wears an armlet featuring the hood of a serpent, with two subsidiary hoods on either side giving it a trefoil pattern. On the wrists he wears bracelets with chased and incised patterns interspersed with bosses, somewhat similar to the anklets in panels E. 3.12 (Fig. 119). The attendant on the man's left is standing. She holds a *chaurī* in her right hand and the end of her *uttarīya* in the left. The *uttarīya* passes over the upper part of the breast, over to the shoulder and is then wrapped around the lower arm. Of the attendant on the right of the central figure, only the right hand, and part of the torso is left. The rest has broken off.

N. 9.40, TEMPTATION OF NARA NĀRĀYANA, 47×52 CM, FIG. 83

The two prominent seated figures are accompanied by four and possibly five diminutive female attendants. Both the large figures are headless. The seated figure on the right has four arms and is, therefore, the representation of a deity. Both the extra hands are raised upwards and then bent inwards as if forming a frame. The normal hands are broken above the elbow. The left leg is folded and placed on the seat while the right one rests on what appears to be a deer. The seat of the four-armed deity is supported by two females. Three other female attendants stand on the right; one on the lower part and two above her. The panel represents probably the story of *Apsarās* being born from the thigh of Nārāyana. According to legend Indra sent down beautiful nymphs to tempt Nārāyana and suborn him, but in order to outwit Indra, Nārāyana produced an exquisitely beautiful maiden Urvaśī from his thigh. She can be seen on the left of the saint; the nymphs are down below. Notwithstanding the diminutive size of the *Apsarās* they have well-proportioned and beautiful figures and the drapery is diaphanous.

806, INDIAN MUSEUM CALCUTTA, VIṢṆU WITH MADHU AND KAITABHA, 48×24 CM, FIG. 84

This panel was found loose by Cunningham in one of the upper niches and was sent to the Indian Museum at Calcutta. The deity wears no apparel except for very brief and close fitting breeches but an elaborate headgear similar to the one worn by the figure in panel W. 1.3 (Fig. 72). He rests on the coils of a serpent whose large hood forms a canopy over the head of the god. Brahmā rests on a lotus. The stalk of the lotus twists down towards Viṣṇu but is broken off near the left hand which is partly mutilated. It is likely to have passed over the thigh and then joined the base which can still be seen. Part of the stalk is attached to the navel and what at first sight appears to be the male organ of generation is the remaining lower extremity of the stalk. It issues from the navel and is to be clearly distinguished from pudenda which would be placed much lower. Besides, the god is wearing close fitting breeches and the private parts are not supposed to be visible. On the right are two standing figures holding maces in their hands. These are the demons Madhu and Kaitabhā who are about to be vanquished by the deity. They are wearing coats of mail as the demons in panel S. 3.25 (Fig. 67). Madhu and Kaitabhā have in one survey been incorrectly described as oarsmen.[18] There are a few other special features which can be observed in this remarkable panel which is fortunately better preserved than most others. The treatment of the figure and dress of the god is most unconventional and unsophisticated. The complete absence of a proper lower garment, of even *Vanamālā* which is almost universal even in the Gupta period, that of Śrivatsa mark, and of ornaments on the arm or wrist makes for a degree of simplicity which is not to be found in later Gupta representations. The god wears only earrings and a turban which is not yet a full crown. The headgear is similar to that of the Gupta Viṣṇu in the Mathura Museum regarded as belonging to the 4th-5th century A.D.[19] Brahmā has been shown with only one face, possessed of a youthful countenance without a beard. He has only one pair of arms. This contrasts with the three-headed[20] representation of Brahmā and the elaborate head-dress of Viṣṇu in the temple at Deogarh which is attributed to the 5th century A.D.

The crown of Viṣṇu is in the simplified form of a turban with a crest in front and two braids on the sides and a third unattached short braid hanging loose in front. This has a strong resemblance to representations of headgear in pre-Gupta periods, for example, the turban in plate LXIV of Smith's Jain Stupa of Mathura.[21]

The turban in statue No. 34.2487 of the Mathura Museum and also on the Viṣṇu image in the Allahabad Museum No. 952 (known as the Jhusī Viṣṇu) has a close resemblance to the headgear in Fig. 84 and Fig. 72.[22]

2026, STATE MUSEUM LUCKNOW, GAṆEŚA WITH A PLATTER OF SWEETS, 44×23 CM, FIG. 85

On the right is Gaṇeśa holding his basket of sweets in the left hand and giving a warning sign to the figure on his right against the latter's attempt to snatch it away. Both are wearing loin cloths and are not adorned with any ornaments.

Vogel's description of this terra-cotta panel is as follows :

"A curious terra-cotta panel which, to judge from its size (17½″ by 9″), must have belonged to the same frieze, is illustrated here (Fig. 12). It was discovered in the course of the recent survey of the temple by Mr. A.H. Longhurst, and is comparatively well preserved. It represents a four-armed Gaṇeśa holding in one of his left hands his favourite dish of sweetmeats and raising the fore-finger (Skr. *tarjanī*) of one of his right hands as if to threaten a male figure which seems to attack or pursue him. The head and part of the right arm and leg of the latter figure are broken. Possibly the Gaṇēśa held in his two upper hands attributes which have also been lost. The upper left hand at least seems to clasp some object—perhaps an elephant hook (Skr. *aṅkuśa*), the usual weapon of the elephant-headed god. His upper right hand is open and raised as if to ward off a blow, which the other person is about to inflict."[23]

Later on in the list of objects handed over to the Provincial Museum (now State Museum) Lucknow, Longhurst describes this panel in the following words :

"1. Terra-cotta bas-relief rectangular panel (18½″×9½″×2¾″) representing a headless male figure apparently attacking a four-armed Gaṇēśa."[24]

It appears more probable that the figure other than Gaṇeśa represents Kārtikeya and not an adversary.

GROUPS OF HUMAN FIGURES

W. 2.17, TWO MALE FIGURES, 24×40 CM, FIG. 86

Both the male figures are pot-bellied but the one who is standing is more corpulent and appears to be in an attitude of supplication. They are headless. The standing figure wears *dhotī*, the two ends of which are tied at the left with a few centimeters of length to spare.

N. 2.13, TWO FOLIATED HUMAN FIGURES, 24×46 CM, FIG. 87

There are two figures both of whom are headless. The figure on the left wears a coat of mail but foliations issue from the body. In between the two was probably the figure of a bull. The figures appear to be flying or even possibly fighting with each other. Foliated male figures could be regarded as those of mermen as the counterpart of mermaids. These have been observed at other sites too. A representation of foliated male figure has been found at Mahābalīpuram and is considered to belong to the sixth century A.D.[25]

N. 2.21, HUMAN FIGURES, 24×46 CM, FIG. 88

This is a jumble of figures, most of them headless and extensively damaged. There is a seated figure on the left whose left leg is stretched up to a rock-like structure; another supine figure leans over him. On the right there is a seated figure. Two more figures one of them corpulent appear to be flying above.

N. 2.22, WOMAN WITH TWO OTHER FIGURES, 24×48 CM, FIG. 89

A prominent headless female figure is in the centre. She wears a *sarī* with folds, and a necklace made of thick large beads. There are likely to have been more figures, and traces of two, one on each side are still visible.

MALE FIGURES

There are 22 single male figures of which 13 are without heads, with or without other parts of the body mutilated. The remaining nine are with heads and in a better state of preservation.

E. 3.11, LEGS OF KNEELING FIGURE, 30×30 CM, FIG. 90

Only the legs are left; these are folded black. The figure was perhaps in an attitude of supplication.

E. 3.15, SEATED MALE FIGURE, 31×28 CM, FIG. 91

The man sits in modified *padmāsana*; the arms are also missing. He wears close fitting stitched breeches.

S. 3.28, KNEELING FIGURE, 32×29 CM, FIG. 92

The hair style and the facial features would suggest a female form but the upper torso which alone is left intact is that of a male.

W. 2.8, GAṆA, 24×46 CM, FIG. 93

The contorted supine attitude of the headless figure suggests the presence of an aggressive counterpart, both locked in a wrestling bout. But this can at best be a conjecture. The distended abdomen is prominent. It could alternately also be baby Kṛṣṇa kicking Śakatāsura and thus destroying the demon. The raised right leg could indicate such a kick.

W. 2.10, STANDING FIGURE, 24×10 CM, FIG. 94

This is a mutilated figure represented on a baluster sub-dividing the oblong panels. The right thigh and leg are flexed; the knee rests on the ground. Remnants of the left leg can also be seen.

W. 2.11, WARRIOR IN COAT OF MAIL, 24×24 CM, FIG. 95

The warrior wears short breeches, and above these an embossed coat which was the uniform of demons. The left leg is folded, the right hand raised and the left lowered. The left hand may have held a bow the string of which is being pulled by the right which has been brought almost level with the ear in order to discharge the arrow.

W. 2.13, WARRIOR IN COAT OF MAIL, 24×10 CM, FIG. 96

This figure is similar to that of panel W. 2.11 (Fig. 95), and also W. 2.14 (Fig. 156). The left knee rests on the ground. The body is bent backwards and the anatomy is in tension.

N. 2.12, STANDING FIGURE, 24×10 CM, FIG. 97

The body appears to be bare above the waist, though cross-belts are worn with a clasp in the centre. This is one of the panels forming a blauster at intervals in the continuous line of friezes in the second row.

N. 2.18, STANDING FIGURE, 24×10 CM, FIG. 98

This again is a baluster. Had it not been for the flat chest, it could as well be a female figure. The lower garment is long and two lines of the cords of sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*) lie across the chest; these are thrown back on the right shoulder to reappear again at the right ham.

N. 2.20, STANDING MALE FIGURE, 24×10 CM, FIG. 99

This is a baluster. The figure is badly damaged, only parts of the torso being visible; the rest has decayed.

N. 3.25, SEATED MALE FIGURE, 32×27 CM, FIG. 100

The seated figure is wearing short breeches. The attitude is that of modified *padmāsana*; the left hand rests on the corresponding thigh and the right arm is broken.

N. 8.36, SEATED MALE FIGURE WITH LEGS CROSSED, 29×29 CM, FIG. 101

This is an extensively damaged figure. A man is sitting cross-legged with the toes of both feet splayed out. There is a *yogapaṭṭa* around the legs, and the left hand was probably held in *ṭripatāka mudrā*.

S. 3.24, STANDING MALE FIGURE, 30×28 CM, FIG. 102

This is the kneeling figure of a corpulent male, who has a most elaborate coiffure, the ringlets formed in the shape of spirals. His left hand rests on what looks like the top of a thick stave. The right arm is missing. The figure is clothed only in loin breeches.

S. 13.38, SEATED MALE FIGURE, 37×37 CM, FIG. 103

This is one of the most well-preserved panels. Its good condition is the result of its being less exposed to weathering. The man wears short breeches and has an elaborate hair style. The composition of the figure is circular and in itself a highly artistic achievement. The right hand is held outwards resting partly on the corresponding ankle and the left cupped and touching the chest. The photograph is mottled owing to encrustation resulting from weathering.

W. 3.21, STANDING MALE FIGURE, 29×27 CM, FIG. 104

Only three fourths of the figure from the thighs upward has been featured. In the right hand he holds a massive mace which shows two metal bands riveted with nails at intervals. The garment is a wrap. The hairdo is simple with three curls in the centre. It is undoubtedly the representation of a wrestler.

W. 3.22, STANDING MALE FIGURE, 30×30 CM, FIG. 105

This is very much similar to the figure in panel W. 3.21 (Fig. 104) except that instead of a wrap it wears short breeches.

W. 3.23, SEATED MALE FIGURE, 30×29 CM, FIG. 106

Most of the body is gone but the well-modelled face is still in a good state of preservation.

W. 8.31, TORSO OF STANDING MALE FIGURE, 31×31 CM, FIG. 107

This is one of the best and well preserved panels. A young man is standing on a balcony with the right hand placed on the railing and the left held up with palm outwards. The features are most significant. Wide mouth, thick lips, broad nose and arched eyebrows are prominent. The lower lip hangs downwards. The hair is so long that ringlets come down to and fall on the shoulders.

W. 8.32, VIDYĀDHARA, 31×30 CM, FIG. 108

This again is a beautifully modelled figure. The left leg is folded and the lower part of the right leg is flexed upwards. He holds a garland in the hands. In addition to short breeches he appears to be wearing a close fitting vest. The hair style is similar to that of other figures as in No. S. 3.26 (Fig. 68) and W. 8.31 (Fig, 107) with four ringlets just above the forehead.

N. 3.28, STANDING MALE FIGURE, 33×28 CM, FIG. 109

This is the representation of a dwarf since the legs are too short in relation to the rest of the body. There is the suggestion of a sash around the abdomen but the vital parts are uncovered. The right hand is held behind the head and the left which comes down straight is broken at the elbow.

N. 3.29, SEATED MALE FIGURE, 31×25 CM, FIG. 110

A young boy sits in *padmāsana* holding a round object in the right hand. The left arm is broken. The dress is short breeches. The hair falls in locks and is parted in the middle. It could be interpreted as the representation of the child Kṛṣṇa on the assumption that the round object held in the right hand is a ball of butter.

L. 8, STATE MUSEUM LUCKNOW, KNEELING FIGURE, 24×16 CM, FIG. 111

This panel is one of the numerous panels in the State Museum Lucknow with no particulars about provenance. The key to its origin was, however, found in the Volume entitled U.P. 1908-1909, kept in the Archaeological Survey of India Photographic Library. It is reproduced at page 67 as No. 1026 and is described as being a photograph of an object from the Bhītargāon temple. The headless male figure is in a crouching posture, with the left hand raised in *abhayamudra.*

SINGLE FEMALE FIGURES

E. 2.6, STANDING FEMALE FIGURE, 24×10 CM, FIG. 112

The features are only dimly outlined. The face is missing but the flabby bulge of the abdomen and the attitude which is that of a dancer gives a special character to this small terracotta piece.

E. 2.8, STANDING FEMALE FIGURE, 24×10 CM, FIG. 113

This again is a panel which has been placed as a baluster between horizontal continuous panels in the second row. The figure is headless, and the right leg as well as right hand are mutilated. The left hand rests on the loins and the right appears to have been in contact with the right foot as the leg is bent at the knee and the foot lifted upwards. Probably the woman is shown as removing a thorn from the foot, a favourite genre theme of ancient sculpture. Maidens intent upon attracting the attention of young men whom they fancied would, it is said, tarry and indulge in this practice in order to permit the spectator to approach them. The lower torso and legs are draped in a *sārī* the folds of which are shown. As usual the figure is undraped above the waist.

S. 10.36, RECLINING FEMALE FIGURE, 30×25 CM, FIG. 114

The head is broken but three locks of hair are shown. There is also a large ear-ring just below the locks of hair as also the marks of a necklace with a cylindrical central bead. The dress is a *dhotī* tied low in the front. The hand which rests on a bolster is rather grotesque and not delicate as should have gone with a female figure.

S. 11.37, STANDING FEMALE FIGURE, 24×20 CM, FIG. 115

This panel is high up on the eastern face. The whole panel is mottled owing to the action of salts and weathering, a feature common to such other panels too, which are at a considerable height. The figure is shown as standing at an open window with the head brought forward so that the arch of the window is at its back while the lower fourth of the torso from the knees below is behind the window. But for the right hand which is broken, the rest of the figure is intact. The features proclaim calm and sedate contemplation. The hair style is simple but the coiffure shows a protrusion at the centre, a feature met with in other models too.

W. 2.6, RECLINING FEMALE FIGURE, 24×41 CM, FIG. 116

This is a headless figure. The tumescent abdomen and the breasts are the only indication of sex. In contrast to most other female figures, this one sports only short breeches in the style of the modern underpant instead of *sārī*. The right foot rests on what appears to be the diminutive trunk of an elephant broken off a little above the tusks. The right hand appears to hold a point on the right breast; the left is broken.

N. 6.33, STANDING FEMALE FIGURE, 23×22 CM, FIG. 117

The head is gone, a lump of the locks of the hair rests on the left shoulder; the hands are splayed out on either side of the sill of the window and the figure is framed within the apsidal span. The modelling of the arms is somewhat queer; these are like the forelegs of an animal having no elbow joint. The navel is prominent and the dress is in the form of a piece of cloth wrapped at the waist. The only indication of femininity is the protruding bust.

N. 8.38, KNEELING FEMALE FIGURE, 31×32 CM, FIG. 118

As in the figure in panel S. 11.37 (Fig. 115) here also the woman is standing at a window with her head put out forward so that the upper frame of the window is behind it. The hands are placed on the lower frame of the open window. The arms again betray the same lack of attention to anatomy as in the previous figure but less pronounced in this case. She wears a necklace of large beads and a pendant in the visible left ear. The hair style is similar to that of the figure in panel S. 11.37 (Fig. 115) with a raised tuft in the centre. The face is possessed of a rare charm; it is at once sensuous and inviting and also calm, an effect produced no doubt by the thick lips with a suggestion of smile which parts them. The nose is sharp and the eyebrows arched. The extraordinarily sensitive treatment of the facial features is testimony to the high degree of artistic proficiency which was employed in creating this panel.

MITHUNAS

There are ten compositions of couples in dalliance or more intimate association. Except for the two on the southern face which are placed in the second row, all are in the third tier, two on the eastern recesses, and three each on the western and northern walls. But for one panel (N. 3.26, Fig. 127) all of these occupy the recesses.

In spite of the fact that there are as many as ten *mithuna* representations *in situ* the following observation was made in one of the descriptions of the temple published some years ago.

"More important than this is the total absence of amorous or exotic (*sic*) couples in '*mithuna*' *mudras* which was the most important aspect of temple sculpturesque decoration in the Brahminical temples of a later age from Orissa to Gujarat."[26]

E. 3.12, MITHUNA COUPLE, 61×39 CM, FIG. 119

The heads and the arms are gone. The lower torso and feet of the female figure and the entire torso of the male is all that is left. The woman wears a wrap, the ends of which meet and are tucked on the left. It is more like a south Indian *muṇḍū* than a *sārī*. The dress clings to the body, the ham and loin being brought into prominence. The feet have been most delicately and beautifully modelled. The right foot is placed laterally and the left frontally. Each toe and even toe-mails are clearly delineated. The right foot is adorned with a beautiful anklet, which has a chased and perforated design surrounding raised bosses. The male figure is squatting with legs folded and the feet almost vertical underneath with toes splayed out for support. It wears short breeches. This attitude of the male coupled with the proud outward curve of the women's right knee leads to the conjecture that the man is beseeching the woman for favours. This could as well be the illustration of Satha Nāyaka, where the lover asks for forgiveness of her beloved after spending the night with another woman.

E. 3.14, MITHUNA COUPLE, 61×39 CM, FIG. 120

Here the role is reversed and it appears as if the supplication has borne fruit. The male holds firmly with his left hand the left breast of the female and she responds by entwining her left hand around the possessive arm. The woman wears the usual wrapped dress and is resting her figure on the left leg of her companion who has bent it forward in order to provide support. She also wears a necklace of beads of which the middle one is cylindrical. Remnants of the scarf adhere to her left arm. The right arm and the face are missing. The male figure is badly damaged, only parts of his legs, remnants of the torso, and those of the left arm remain. He wears a rather elaborate version of knee breeches which have folds and also a belt. The sophistication in the dress shows a higher social status than that of men with short clinging underpants.

S. 2.7, MITHUNA COUPLE, 24×12 CM, FIG. 121

Both figures are headless and also otherwise badly mutilated. The man is sitting while the woman who faces in the same direction has fallen backwards upon him. His right hand passes below her armpit and is placed upon the breasts, while with the left he supports the woman's left arm. In her abandon she lets her head fall on the right side of her companion's chest and entwines her left hand around his neck. The attitude of the man shows purposefulness and that of the woman passionate abandon. The man wears the usual shorts and the woman the long waist wrap described earlier.

S. 2.8, MITHUNA COUPLE, 24×36 CM, FIG. 122

The headless male figure is seated, with the left hand resting on the left knee, and the right arm raised in front; it is broken at the wrist. Only the right arm and shoulder of the female figure are left; the rest has broken off and the jagged remnants have unimaginatively been plastered by some restorer in the past.

W. 3.20, MITHUNA COUPLE, 63×38 CM, FIG. 123

The composition shows not tenderness, but violent action. Had both figures been male it would have easily been regarded as a wrestling match. The figures are headless. The man has put his right foot forward; the left leg is bent and with the foot upright, the toes digging in for purchase, he flings himself violently at the woman who appears in a similar posture with the flexion of legs reversed. Her left leg is thrust forward and the right is bent backwards with toes digging in and head thrown back. She is held at the waist by the man. There appears to be a struggle going on between the two. However, there is contact between the two bodies at three points. The right breast of the female touches the chest of the man, her right knee the man's corresponding ankle, and the man's hand grasps the waist of the woman. No ornaments are visible. The absence of the heads makes the composition even more enigmatic.

W. 3.25, MITHUNA COUPLE, 31×24 CM, FIG. 124

Both figures are sitting on bolsters, the man's being higher than of the woman. His right leg is hanging down while the left one has been pulled up and folded laterally on the bolster so that part of it rests also on the right knee of the woman. The body is slightly inclined to the left as a mark of tender response. The right hand is held in the attitude of *abhayamudra*, and the left extended towards the woman and touches her shoulder. There is no indication of any apparel and the face is for the most part destroyed. The hair falls in ringlets. The woman is headless, wears the usual lower garment which is for once without the suggestion of folds. The right arm is broken, the left hand rests on the thigh. The composition points more to a representation of counsel or discourse than amorous dalliance.

W. 3.26, MITHUNA COUPLE, 63×40 CM, FIG. 125

On a superficial glance both figures appear to be those of males, but a closer examination would indicate that the composition is *mithuna*. The figure on the left which is badly damaged is probably that of a woman, since the scarf or *uttarīya* is partly visible on the proper right. Her head is likely to have been placed on the shoulder of the male.

N. 3.24, MITHUNA COUPLE, 63×40 CM, FIG. 126

A full bosomed woman lets herself fall backwards on her male companion with the head fully resting on his chest. Her left hand rests on the thigh of the man. She wears the usual skirt-wrap. The hair style is distinct. The man stands behind her, with his right knee supporting the body of the woman. The *dhotī* is longer than in other representations of male figures.

N. 3.26, MITHUNA COUPLE, 31×27 CM, FIG. 127

The face of the man is prominent, the lips are thick and the features show concentration. He clasps the right breast of the female. The left hand of the male is missing. He is sporting the usual short breeches. The woman rests on the ground in a semi-squatting and partly reclining position with the right hand on the knee. She is undraped with no indication of any apparel.

N. 3.30, MITHUNA COUPLE, 62×39 CM, FIG. 128

The figures are badly mutilated. Of the male figure only the legs are left. He wears a long *dhotī*. The left foot is vertical with toes prominently flexed. The right foot is placed flat and on it rests the left foot of the woman. The woman is attired in the usual wrap, and has an artistic coiffure with hair cut short, and the locks arranged like a wide feather.

HEADS

There are 12 panels with heads framed in *gavākṣas*. In addition, eight terracotta heads in the State Museum at Lucknow have been identified to have originally belonged to the temple. Thus there are a total of 20 plaques showing heads only. Only two heads appear to be of men; the rest are of women. In the description which follows these have been classified according to hair style.

HEADS OF FEMALES

SHORT HAIR PARTED IN THE MIDDLE

There are five such heads.

W. 6.28, 20×17 CM, FIG. 129

This is badly damaged, particularly at the mouth which gives it a grotesque appearance.

W. 6.30, 20×17 CM, FIG. 130

This is the face of a thick-lipped woman, the lower lip being particularly prominent and the face grave. The eyebrows are very well delineated.

N. 7.35, 32×32 CM, FIG. 131

The coiffure of this head is distinctive. Tresses fall heavily on either side of the head. There are two small curls, one on either side of the forehead.

67.594, STATE MUSEUM LUCKNOW, 15×14 CM, FIG. 132
67.147, STATE MUSEUM LUCKNOW, 15×14 CM, FIG. 133

The hair style is similar or both heads; the former is looking up while the latter's head is somewhat bent forward. Owing to decay, the features have mostly become obliterated.

HONEYCOMB COIFFURE

There are four such heads.

67.138, STATE MUSEUM LUCKNOW, 15×14 CM, FIG. 134

The hair is parted in the middle but instead of curls or tresses it is frizzled and done in the form of buns on either side of the head.

L. 7, STATE MUSEUM LUCKNOW, 13×14 CM, FIG. 135

The face is round, nostrils flared and the nose flat, thick lips and hair short and crinkly. The features are doubtless negroid.

L. 5, STATE MUSEUM LUCKNOW, 14×15 CM, FIG. 136

The hair style is severe and reminds one of the crinkly short hair with localised ringlets on the head of black people strands of whose hair are flat, instead of being round. There are pendants on both ears; the one on the right ear is in the form of a thick ring. The mouth is most expressive.

S. 4.32, 13×10 CM, FIG. 137

This head is very much similar to the one just described. The pendant on the left ear is visible, that of the right is damaged. The curls on the hair are so much stylised and so clearly delineated at the hairline above the forehead that the coiffure adopts the form of a close fitting cap.

RINGLETS

S. 4.30, 13×10 CM, FIG. 138

There are five large ringlets on the left of the head and as many on the other side, too. These bear a close resemblance to the ringlets in Fig. 102. The earring is long and heavy and almost like a slab of heavy and hard material. The features show laboured cheerfulness.

W. 6.29, 20×18 CM, FIG. 139

It is a most beautifully modelled head representing the face of a young woman. The mouth is wide but the lips are not prominently thick. The hair falls on either side of the face in ringlets which are particularly visible on the right of the face. This style was known as *Alaka*.[27]

67.595, STATE MUSEUM LUCKNOW, DIA. 19 CM, FIG. 140

This is the only panel with a circular frame, besides the one representing a lotus. Were it not for the fact that its photograph had been taken in 1909 and included in the album of the Archaeological Survey of India, it may well have been missed. This head is kept in the State Museum at Lucknow but there is no indication of its provenance. In fact, before 1967, it was not even listed in the records. However, in 1909 photographs of loose panels were taken and the panels were then sent to the Lucknow Museum. This photograph was included in the documentation library of the Archaeological Survey of India. The cornices below and above the second row of panels which form a continuous band on all the sides of the temple contained niches for insertion of circular panels about 19 cms in diameter. Now, all trace of these niches as well as that of any panels which may have been fixed in them is gone owing to obliteration of this feature during successive restorations. But in the photograph of the southern face taken in 1909 and reproduced as Fig. 50, the remnants of such a panel can be seen on the right between panels S. 3.27 (Fig. 69) and S. 3.28 (Fig. 92). This circular panel is likely to have been originally installed in one of these niches.

It is the face of a beautiful young girl with the mouth half open; the upper lip is undefined but the lower one is full and drooping in keeping with the aesthetic preference of the age. The left side of the coiffure is different from the right. Curls appear on the right but on the left the hair is plastered down. The right ear-ring rests on the shoulder, but the left one is not so prominent. It is highly unlikely that the two earrings should be asymmetrical, one disproportionately larger than the other. It appears that where the face was represented three quarters, the earring on the invisible ear was exaggerated in size in order to bring it into the composition, while the other earring was shown in its normal size. The excellent state of its preservation lends special value to this panel.

STREAKED LOCKS WITH CENTRAL BUN

L. 6, STATE MUSEUM LUCKNOW, 15×13 CM, FIG. 141

The lips are thick, nostrils flared, eyes large, brows and eyelids rendered by incision in clay. The central bun is prominent.

S. 4.31, 13×10 CM, FIG. 142

This is the head of a beautiful maiden with a very pleasing expression on the face. The lips are of moderate thickness; there is a tuft on the crown.

HAIR STYLE NOT PROMINENT

There are three such heads.

S. 6.34, 19 × 15 CM, FIG. 143

The nose and lips are considerably damaged. From whatever remains, the features display a certain degree of severity.

N. 6.34, 23 × 22 CM, FIG. 144

Owing to damage the hair style is not prominent. The girl has a pleasing expression on her face, has long nose, arched eyebrows, and thick lower lip. The large earring on the left ear is distinctive.

66.521, STATE MUSEUM LUCKNOW, 12 × 9 CM, FIG. 145

This head unfortunately is only fragmentary, the remnant being more in the nature of a mask than a head since most of the scalp and neck is gone. It is in the State Museum and has been nominated as belonging to the Bhītargāon. The surface texure is the same as that of other heads and panels. In spite of the mutilated state in which it exists now, the face proclaims a most distinctive personality endowed with such features of feminine beauty as were regarded as ideal in the early Gupta period, short and wide nose, thick lower lip with a tendency to droop and a sensuous face rendered almost alive by exquisite modelling.

N. 6.31, 23 × 22 CM, FIG. 146

The features are badly damaged. The presence of heavy locks or earring falling on the left shoulder alone identifies it as a female head.

HEADS OF MALES

There are only two such Examples.

S. 5.33, 13 × 10 CM, FIG. 147

This is the face of a bald-headed man. The features are indistinct owing to extensive damage.

N. 6.32, 23 × 22 CM, FIG. 148

The hair is short but features are indistinct owing to weathering.

WRESTLING AND COMBAT

There are three panels on the temple and one kept in the State Museum at Lucknow, which have wrestling engagements as the subject.

W. 2.16, WRESTERS, 24 × 49 CM, FIG. 149

Most of the figures are damaged but whatever remains is highly enigmatic. In the middle of the panel is a grotesque one-eyed figure, most of whose features cannot be made out. On the right is a man's figure kneeling on the ground wearing a coat of mail and short breeches. Another figure is supine below the monster in the centre. This figure also wears similar clothing. A coat of mail is worn by it. Demons used to be represented as wearing coat of mail and these figures may be regarded to be those of such evil beings. At the extreme left of the panel is only the leg of a man who appears to be approaching the central ensemble.

W. 3.24, WARRIOR ATTACKING ADVERSARY, 32 × 27 CM, FIG. 150

A wrestler with a medal on the chest has overpowered his opponent. For he has put both his knees down on the left flank of the figure which has already fallen on the ground, and now raises his right hand aloft to proclaim his victory. To add to his aplomb, he places his left hand on his corresponding flank. The existence of a medal on the chest may point to the figure representing Kṛṣṇa.

67.140, STATE MUSEUM LUCKNOW, WRESTLERS, 24 × 47 CM, FIG. 151

Two wrestlers are entwined in combat. Both are headless. But the legs of the figure on the right are visible as also one of the legs of the figure on the left. The one on the left is holding the partly vanquished adversary by the waist. In the struggle, the right leg of the fallen figure has become twisted in an unnatural and painful position.

MEN AND ANIMALS

There are eight such panels but most of them are damaged and only part of the figures is visible.

S. 2.6, MEN AND ANIMALS, 24 × 41 CM, FIG. 152

There are decidedly four figures in this panel and quite possibly one more which is now obliterated. In the centre is a tiger regardant. There is an animal behind the tiger which appears to be running away. Below the tiger is the figure if another animal which has marks on its back. On the extreme left is the figure of a man who is stretching out his left hand towards the tiger. Another creature lies prone below him. The male figure wears tunic and breeches and the remnants of a sash are also visible. Owing to the extensive damage suffered by this panel, it is not possible to make out the subject of the composition. The figures are however very well modelled and that of the tiger is particularly realistic.

S. 2.17, MAN BEING DEVOURED BY CROCODILES, 24 × 43 CM, FIG. 153

This is the figure of a human being whose hands end up in flourishes. His right leg is within the jaws of a crocodile and there is another crocodile in the background on the left. Not only was it one of the decorative devices of ancient Indian artists to represent even human figures with limbs ending in foliated patterns, ornaments with a man's body inside the jaws of a crocodile were commonly employed as decoration of buildings.

W. 2.7, PROCESSION, 24 × 52 CM, FIG. 154

This panel is also extensively damaged. There are four figures, three of human beings and one of an animal. At the extreme right is a standing woman. Next to her is a corpulent man whose body is inclined towards the woman. Further left is the figure of an animal on which a fat man appears to be sitting side-saddle. The man has a medal on his chest. He is wearing short breeches and there is a bangle also on the wrist. Unmistakably the composition is that of a procession. The presence of the medal on the chest of the man points to his belonging to the nobility; if the medal is to be regarded as *Kaustubhamaṇi*, it could possibly be the representation of the god Kṛṣṇa.

W. 2.9, RIDER ON BULL WITH ATTENDANTS, 24 × 48 CM, FIG. 155

This panel resembles the previous one in certain details. There are two figures on the left which are proceeding at a fast pace with the right leg flexed forward for quick motion. Next is a man who rides cross-legged on a bull and is proceeding in the same direction. Last of all is the figure of a pot-bellied person who is standing with face towards the spectator and not in the same direction in which the procession is going.

W. 2.14, WARRIOR ATTACKING ELEPHANT, 24×43 CM, FIG. 156

On the right is an elephant which is attacking a man whose left leg is folded under him. The man who is being attacked is wearing short breeches, coat of mail and a belt round the waist. Since the hands are raised it appears that he is trying to defend himself.

N. 2.10, MAN RIDING A CLEFT-FOOTED ANIMAL, 24×10 CM, FIG. 157

This is a very small panel which is in the form of a baluster between the long panels in the frieze in the second row. This shows a man riding on a cleft hoofed animal. The animal could be a goat since its size is definitely smaller than that of the rider. The goat is the vehicle of the god Agnī but the absence of flame marks on the shoulders or anywhere else in the background is a contra-indication to this interpretation.

N. 2.19, MAN AND A CLOVEN HOOFED ANIMAL, 24×46 CM, FIG. 158

A cloven-hoofed animal is standing on the left while a man is sitting on the right. The attitude of the animal or that of the man does not suggest any violent activity on their part.

PL-XVI, VOL. XI, A.S.I.R., MEN AND MAKARAS, 24×53 CM, FIG. 159

Cunningham included amongst the illustrations which accompany his survey, a panel together with a baluster which doubtless formed part of the ring course of reliefs in the second row, but is no longer *in situ* and could also not be traced in any repository. The baluster which was obviously of the same size as others viz. 24×10 cm bears the figure of a woman wearing a wrapped dress which comes down to below the anklets. It has horizontal pleat markings. The left foot is placed laterally while the right is shown frontally with the large toe projecting beyond the platform on which she is standing. The toes of the right foot are thus curled down, a detail most clearly apparent even in an old reproduction. Both the legs are so modelled that their contours are prominent from beneath the pleated long skirt. The masterful modelling of the legs and feet in so small a piece manifests a degree of refinement not to be observed in any other example of ancient or medieval terracotta art in India. Unfortunately the upper part is damaged beyond delineation, with only the outline of an arm being visible. The larger panel shows two men being devovoured by *makaras*, a theme present also in Fig. 153. It would suffice, perhaps to quote the description given by Cunningham. He wrote[28] : "In the right hand compartment there were originally two dragons, but the left animal is now gone, excepting the proboscis, which is wound round the left man's thigh, and a portion of the foliated tail which encircles his body. The second dragon has the same man's left leg in his mouth, while he lifts aloft a woman with his proboscis, and entangles a second man in the coils of his foliated tail."

The anatomocal proportions maintained in this exquisite though much damaged piece are of rare astistic merit equivalent to that employed in the most elegant and refined carvings in stone.

ANIMALS OTHER THAN MAKARA

There are a total of ten representations of animals both mythical and normal. All but one of these are in the second row of panels, six on the south and four on the north. Except, for two examples, all are represented as mythical creatures with additional attributes or features. The lion or tiger is represented in six of the panels; other mythical animals account for the remaining four. Let us take them up one by one.

S. 2.9, MYTHICAL ANIMAL, 24×45 CM, FIG. 160

Only the paws identify the animal as a carnivore. Foliations and large fan-like leaves emanate from the neck and back of the animal. Its body has circular spots, which may lead to the conclusion that the artist had the leopard in view when he was modelling this mythical creature.

S. 2.10, ANIMAL WITH FOLIATED LIMBS, 24×51 CM, FIG. 161

Only one paw with foliations is visible; the rest has deteriorated.

S. 2.14, WINGED LION, 24×49 CM, FIG. 162

This is an animal whose head has broken off. The tail is in the form of a scroll with multiple rounded folds. The mane is replaced by large leaves; similar decorative marking appears on the left flank.

S. 2.18, TWO LIONS WITH SINGLE HEAD, 24×41 CM, FIG. 163

The head is gone; only the bodies remain. The tails of both bodies are in the form of manifold foliations with numerous curves and turns. There are incised markings on the fore-legs and shoulders. This panel has since been lost and is no longer fixed on the temple.

S. 2.22, MYTHICAL ANIMAL, 24×45 CM, FIG. 164

Amidst beautifully modelled and highly raised foliations stands a horse like animal with wings above its shoulders in the form of very large leaves. From the front, as well as the back, further foliations issue. The head unfortunately is broken. The skill displayed in the bold but controlled modelling of the flourishes, and the balance in the turns and counter turns is extraordinary.

S. 2.23, MYTHICAL ANIMAL, 24×36 CM, FIG. 165

This panel again is badly damaged. Only the left rear leg and hoof of the animal are left; the rest has decayed and broken off. A few whorls of the foliations remain to mark the high degree of skill employed in creating this decorative composition.

N. 2.16, MYTHICAL ANIMAL, 24×46 CM, FIG. 166

This is a creature which, in the representation of the head and body resembles a mongoose though it is not as spare and slim. Foliations issue from its tail and cover the entire background.

N. 2.17, ANIMAL WITHOUT FOLIATIONS, 24×22 CM, FIG. 167

For once this is an animal without foliations. It is resting with its legs folded beneath the body with the neck reared up and the head raised. The head resembles that of a camel but the body is disproportionately small.

N. 2.23, ELEPHANT AND LION, 24×45 CM, FIG. 168

The central figure is that of a lion, with prominent forehead, eyes and mane. There is an indistinct figure on the right of the panel resembling a man more than an animal, the marks of whose legs can be recognised. It has engaged a lion in combat, the latter's forepaw held up in fending off the attack. The rear legs are on the ground, the right one placed on the left. The lion appears to have just been aroused and has not had enough time to stand up completely, when another surprise attack comes from behind, the attacker in this case being an elephant rather small in size when compared to the lion, which has suddenly dug it right forepaw into the ribs of the lion. The lion's attention being so suddenly demanded by this new menace, it turns its head backward with a painful snarl while still being engaged with its first adversary. Though the panel is badly mutilated the drama is enfolded with force and realism.

N. 8.37, SEATED FIGURE WITH LION'S HEAD, 30×30 CM, FIG. 169

This is one of the window-frame figures. It is a stylised representation of a lion with a human body sitting on its haunches behind the window, with the legs folded at the knee and spread out on the two sides, the hands placed laterally on the window sill. The mouth is gone, but the eyes, forehead and ears remain together with the stylised mane falling like long straight hair on the shoulders.

MAKARAS

The representation of the crocodile is frequent, and there are no less than nine examples not counting the crocodile in the Gangā panel and two shown in panel S. 2.17 (Fig. 153). All of these are in the second row, three on the north, the remaining faces having two each. These may be taken up one by one.

E. 2.5, *MAKARA*, 24×46 CM, FIG. 170

This is a highly stylised representation. The snout is in the shape of an elephant's trunk. The lower jaw is broken off. The tail is upright and curved like that of a bird and the reptile is made to resemble a land animal more than an amphibian. Foliated curls issue from its body.

E. 2.9, *MAKARA*, 24×43 CM, FIG. 171

A highly stylised *makara* is shown devouring a man. The *makara* has no feet, but numerous foliations issue from its body. The torso of the man is inside its jaws and the legs have already disappeared into the belly. The head is broken off, and the left arm is hanging out.

S. 2.20, TWO *MAKARAS* BACK TO BACK, 24×41 CM, FIG. 172

Two *makaras* are represented back to back with foliated tails and other foliations in the background.

S. 2.21, *MAKARA*, 24 × 10 CM, FIG. 173

Represented on a baluster between oblong panels the crocodile is shown upright with its tail above and snout downwards. Foliations can be seen issuing out of its mouth. The tail ends in a fish-like expanse.

W. 2.15, *MAKARA*, 24 × 42 CM, FIG. 174

This is similar to the one described above, but it is extensively damaged.

W. 2.18, *MAKARA*, 24 × 41 CM, FIG. 175

The snout is prominent, but no feet have been shown.

N. 2.6, *MAKARA*, 24 × 40 CM, FIG. 176

The snout is broken. The foliations in this panel are more prominent than the body and limbs of the animal.

N. 2.11, *MAKARA*, 24 × 41 CM, FIG. 177

The figure of the *makara* is greatly foreshortened and it is all jaw and tail with almost no body. There is also a human leg but it is not possible to connect it with the crocodile.

N. 2.14, *MAKARA*, 24 × 47 CM, FIG. 178

This is a more realistic representation than most others. The body of the animal has circular markings, and the tail which is long ends up in a foliated curve. The forepaw is less stylised than in other representations. There are no rear paws.

S. 3111, STATE MUSEUM LUCKNOW, *MAKARA*, 20 × 14 CM, FIG. 179

This is only the fragment of a panel and all that is left is part of the snout, with prominent ear, and a paw like that of an elephant or a rhinoceros. There are circular markings on the upper part of the forepaw.

A word about the *makara* motif may not be out of place.

The *makara* motif has been used as a device for sculptural ornaments since Mauryan times. It has also been surmised that the *makara* was a decorative motif made out of a combination of the physical characteristics of the fish, elephant and crocodile.[29] The earlier representations were less stylised, the mouth and the body were elongated, the feet small and squat, but in the process of the development of the motif in the course of centuries, the elephant's trunk, additional and longer teeth in the form of tusks and large legs and paws resembling the elephant's or the tiger's as suited the fancy of the sculptor were provided.[30] The representations, at Bhītargāon appear to be later than those seen in Bodh Gayā in Aśoka's railing at Mahābodhī, ascribed to 250 B.C. and those from the Bhārhut *stupa* and at Sānchī.

BIRDS

There are nine panels on the temple showing birds and all of them appear to be representations of the peacock.

The Calcutta Museum has one panel. This was found loose at the site and sent there by Cunningham in 1878. This panel shows a cock-fight. All the panels on the temple showing birds are in the second row except one which is on one of the top tiers on the south face.

E. 2.7, BIRD WITH FOLIATED WINGS AND TAIL, 24 × 33 CM, FIG. 180

The body has circular marks. Instead of the wings, there are curved flourishes. The tail is also decorated in the same manner. A similar pattern appears also on other parts of the bird's body.

S. 2.13, PEACOCK, 24 × 41 CM, FIG. 181

This panel is damaged mostly in the part which was occupied by the representation of the bird. The rest of the panel contains meanders of the convolutions issuing from the bird's body. These twirls are complicated but balanced in composition and evince a high degree of artistic proficiency.

S. 2.15, PEACOCK, 24 × 36 CM, FIG. 182

Only one leg is all that is left of the bird. The rest are scallops with beautiful undulations.

S. 2.16, PEACOCK, 24 × 42 CM, FIG. 183

The bird occupies, it appears, only a secondary place in the sinuous spirals with which the whole panel is filled. These have well rounded turns and counter turns.

S. 2.19, PEACOCK, 24 × 42 CM, FIG. 184

The features are unmistakably that of a peacock with the usual decorative loops and cusps.

S. 10.35, BIRD, 30 × 25 CM, FIG. 185

The head and two feet are visible. The beak rests on the upward turn of a flourish, which appears to issue from the body of the bird. Similar foliations adorns the back and take the place of the wings and tail.

W. 2.5, PEACOCK, 24 × 45 CM, FIG. 186

Very little of the features of the bird are left; only the convolutions are prominent.

W. 2.19, BIRD, 24 × 48 CM, FIG. 187

The head is gone but it is clear from what remains that the bird has been represented in a frontal position. Large sinuous spirals issue from what should have been wings and fill either side with balanced though slightly asymmetrical shapes.

N. 2.8, BIRD, 24 × 41 CM, FIG. 188

The head of the bird is gone; only the body and feet ending in twirls remain. The scallops issuing from the body of the bird are extensive and prominent. The markings on the wings are clear; these are unlike those in other panels, and the shape of the body also points to the conclusion that a bird other than the peacock was probably intended to be represented. The flourishes of the meanders have as in the other panels been most beautifully rendered.

53/62, INDIAN MUSEUM CALCUTTA, FIGHTING BIRDS, 24 × 51 CM, FIG. 189

This panel is undoubtedly from the second row as the ornamental baluster on the left will show. The composition unmistakably represents a cock-fight. The heads are partly damaged. The bird on the left is in the attitude of attack, tail raised, head down and feathers ruffled. The one on the right appears to await the onslaught with alertness. Except for the tails which have been exaggerated, the rest of the features are realistic and boldly represented.

FOLIATIONS (FIG. 190 TO 195)

The depiction of curls and turns in foliage was so dear to the heart of the ancient decorator that these devices have freely been used in association with animals and birds. There are also five representations which contain only convoluted ornaments. All of these again are in the second row of panels. These are No. E. 2.10, (Fig. 190), S. 2.11 (Fig. 191), S. 2.12 (Fig. 192), W. 2.12 (Fig. 193), N. 2.7 (Fig. 194) and N. 2.9 (Fig. 195), and display a very high degree of mastery in the modelling of intricate patterns. Panel

W. 2.12 is upright; the rest oblong. Dimensions vary for the oblong panels from 24 × 38 to 24 × 41 cm. Those of Fig. 193 are 24 × 20 cm.

LOTUS MEDALLION

N. 14.41, LOTUS MEDALLION, DIAMETER 30 CM, FIG. 196

High up on the northern face is a circular flat disc with three concentric patterns. The outermost circle shows a wavy perforation which, however, is not continuous and is confined to a little less than one fourth on the right lower quarter. Next is a plain strip. Below the plain strip are stylised lotus petals with outlines defined, and a central marking also. These are similar to the markings on the decorative bricks in the first line of the cornice. The next inner circle contains similar patterns but placed opposite with the tips pointing inwards so as to be complimentary to the pattern in the outer circle. The central area is plain; if it had any mouldings, these have worn off. Such circular discs are commonly met with in ancient Indian architecture. These were extensively used for instance in the 5th century temple at Bhumara.[31]

UNIDENTIEIED PANELS

There are three panels, one each on the eastern, southern and northern faces which have markings but are not identifiable because of extensive damage. These have, however, been included for the sake of making the record complete and are being listed as follows.

E. 3.13, 30 × 30 CM, FIG. 197

Only three figures with nails of the left hand and the partially cupped right hand can be identified. The rest has decayed.

S. 3.29, 29 × 24 CM, FIG. 198

There are two wheels connected both above and below with a crescent shaped axle which has vertical and horizontal marks on it. The rest is obliterated.

N. 2.15, 24 × 45 CM, FIG. 199

Part of a recumbent torso with traces of the broken leg is all that can be seen.

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CHAPTER VII

COMPARISON WITH THE ART OF CONTEMPORARY TERRACOTTA PANELS

It is customary to describe all sculptural representations in baked clay as terracotta art with a broad classification into : (1) ageless types, and (2) timed variations.[1] The most common figures and compositions discovered are those which were used as cult objects. Next come children's toys. These are naturally diminutive in size and usually in the round. There are no stone objects which may be comparable to toys in terracotta. For obvious reasons, toys in ancient India were made exclusively from clay since it could be easily worked, was universally available, and the objects could be inexpensively replaced. The artistic qualities of these toys are therefore mediocre. Images for worship were also fashioned in clay in those areas where more durable material was not easily available. They were generally small in size owing to technical difficulties in the moulding and firing of large objects. This is particularly true of the ageless types, though instances are not lacking of life-size or near life-size figures. The Buddha images and the group representing Hāriti and her sons discovered at Kasiā and those of Gangā and Yamunā from Ahichchhatra are almost life-size and provide proof of extraordinary skill in moulding and firing. However, owing to the fragility of such large compositions only a few pieces dating back to the Gupta period have survived.

Another form of terracotta art consisted of compositions on flat panels in low relief of objects of common use, utensils or implements. For instance skin scrubbers were made by embedding grains of mustard on the surface of oval convex pieces of clay which were then fired. The burnt out mustard seeds could then be brushed away and the rough surface used for scrubbing. The reverse of such an implement would display a composition in low relief. Small plaques bearing iconographic representations or mithuna compositions for decoration in niches or for hanging on walls were also common. Another type of terracottas are the clay seals numerous examples of which have heen unearthed.

However, the most important and functionally valuable form of terracotta sculpture were the fairly large panels with bold relief used as architectural decoration on buildings. Terracotta art was most suited for this purpose. It was easy to mould figures on a platter of clay, the base providing a very convenient support for the soft material which is prone to crumble until hardened. For any figures in the round which are more than 15 to 20 centimetres in height, an armature has to be used to support the layers of clay. No such additional reinforcement was needed in the case of panels, however large the size. In alluvial areas with a thick and impenetrable overburden of earth, the rock strata were inaccessible. As the means of communication with rock bearing areas were also difficult, the tendency to use easily moulded clay for decorative members of architectural forms soon developed. In the case of stone buildings the constituents were available for carving before construction or could be fashioned even after having been put in place. However, with brick architecture no such option was available, for the panels had to be moulded, carved and fired in advance before being placed in the predetermined spaces. The function of these panels was essentially architectural decoration and the subjects were chosen from the vast range of iconographic tradition and from the contemporary genre. Thus, from the standpoint of functional value, by far the most important branch of terracotta art was that of panels, with representations in high relief. It is, however, unfortunate that the surviving examples of these are not abundant, and panels relating to not more than about two dozen sites have so far been published. There are, no doubt, a large number of unidentified collections of panels in various museums and a fairly large selection of photographs also exists in the documentation of the Archaeological Survey of India. One would be tempted to draw upon the wealth of this latter source since the photographs are identified but this would also require the addition in this book of unpublished illustrations. This would unnecessarily enlarge the scope of this work without yielding much additional benefit to the present survey. In the case of bricks, it was necessary to include unpublished specimens in the interest of arriving at the date of the construction of the temple; our research has shown that from panels from other sites no such support can be expected. The following discussion is, therefore, confined only to those terracotta reliefs which have already been published so that they can easily be referred to. In fact, a comprehensive study of architectural terracottas used for the embellishment of buildings during, before and after the Gupta period could be the subject of an independent piece of research. A sketchy survey accompanied by a few photographs in this book would tend to detract from its theme which is confined to the comprehensive survey of the Bhītargāon temple.

PAHĀRPUR

By far the largest group of architectural terracottas in the subcontinent was discovered at Pahārpur, which is the site *par excellence* for terracotta panels. About a thousand plaques were lying loose and were easily recovered from the debris, and about 1850 more were found to be still fixed on the walls about fifty years ago when the site was first explored.[2]

A total of 237 terracotta panels have been illustrated in the Memoir on the temple and these cover a wide range of subjects. Human figures in various forms and activities are shown in 75 panels. Next come animals in 48 panels; deities and idols are represented in 38 compositions; birds and amongst them notably the goose in 19 panels; inanimate objects such as conches, *chakra*, towers in 18; *Kinnaras* being mostly combinations of human and bird forms in 11; demons and also primitive men (Sabaras) in ten; trees, flowers and plants in ten; and Kirtimukhas and fabulous animals other than *Kinnaras* in five. Three of the illustrations are excessively damaged or obliterated. A very careful examination of these reproductions revealed that many of the plaques are the work of apprentices or novices with little, if any, attention to detail and the anatomy is also generally inexact. Of all the panels only 17 are of workmanship which comes anywhere near that of Bhītargāon. These panels may briefly be described.[3]

Plate No.	*Fig. No.*	*Panel No. (left to right)*	*Description*
XXXIX	d	3	Standing Bodhīsatava. This is a well composed relief. The deity wears a dhoti, the folds of which have been well delineated. Around his neck is a necklace with large pendants. Other ornaments with which he is adorned are bangles (*Kankaṇas*), arm bands, anklets and *Kuṇḍalas* in the ears. A lotus stalk entwines his left arm and then projects upwards parallel to the body to support a prominent flower at the top left corner. The features of the face are well proportioned.
XL	c	3	Standing Bodhisatva. This figure is more or less similar to the one just described. In addition to the lotus flower and a long supporting stalk which decorates the left top corner of the composition, the deity also holds a lotus flower in his right hand.
XL	d	3	Nāga deity. The face is damaged. However, the halo composed of serpent hoods, and the balance achieved by confining the composition to the bust lends distinction to this relief.
XLI	a	1	Seated couple. A woman and a man are sitting on the same cushion. The man has his right hand upraised and appears to be stressing a point in the course of his discourse. This composition resembles Fig. 124 (W. 3.25) from Bhītargāon. It is well composed, with limbs well proportioned.
XL	a	3	This panel appears to represent an episode from the life of Kṛṣṇa. The child god holds two pitchers on his head and is accompanied by a grown up man who supports his own pitcher with the right hand and holds a parasol in the left.
XL	c	1	Woman and child. The woman who wears only short breeches is shown in exaggerated *tribhaṅga* attitude, both hands raised and joined above the head which is bent towards the right. From the waist downwards the body including the right hip is twisted to the right; the left leg is raised and folded at the knee,

Contd.

Plate No.	*Fig. No.*	*Panel No.* (*left to right*)	*Description*
			the body being supported by the right one. The hair style is in the form of a turban with twisted cords. *Kuṇḍalas* adorn the ears and the armbands have tassels attached to them. A diminutive female figure stands on the left and looks upwards at the principal figure.
XL	c	3	Elephant with trunk upraised. This is a very well-composed figure with the right foreleg raised upwards in rythm with the upraised trunk.
XLIII	c	4	Deity. In spite of its diminutive size, the plaque is distinctive. It shows a deity sitting on a cushion patterned in lotus petals, with a vajra on the left.
XLIII	f	—	Woman drawing a man out of a well with the help of a rope. The pitcher which she had gone to fill is resting on her left. She has an elaborate coiffure, wears multiple bangles on the wrist and is attired in a dhotī parted in the middle. Her feet have, however, not been placed correctly or shown in the right perspective.
XLVII	c	—	*Vidyādhara* couple. The female figure emerging out of the left top corner is held by the left-arm of the male entwined around her torso. The male figure is scantily attired, has long boots on the feet, wears prominent *kuṇḍalas* in the ears and holds a sword in his right hand.
XLVII	f	—	*Vidyādhara* holding sword and noose. This is a beautifully executed figure, most balanced in composition and probably the best of all the published panels of Pahārpur presenting human forms.
XLVIII	e	—	Hermit. An emaciated hermit is shown in a crouching position. The *kamaṇḍalu* is at the back; his sole attire is a string of rope, the beard is long and there are large earrings in the ears. The hands are joined in an attitude of supplication. The composition is well articulated.
XLIX	b	—	*Vidyādhara* couple. The attitude of both figures is that of suspension in air as if in flight. The right leg of the male is entwined with the corresponding thigh of the female who also holds the male's ankle for greater support. Her left leg is stretched forth and the feet meet the corresponding part of the male figure. The female's left hand rests in front of her abdomen, but that of the male is placed on his left thigh. With the right arm he embraces his companion. Both wear a string of leaves around the waist. The man also wears a cross band on his chest; the woman an *uttarīya* which partially drapes the bust. There are bangles on her wrist and a necklace around the neck. The distinctive footwear on the left foot of the male is similar to that of other *Vidyādharas*.

Contd.

Plate No.	*Fig. No.*	*Panel No.* (*left to right*)	*Description*
XLIX	c	—	Human couple. This is another couple with similar attire, but here the female is proportionately much smaller and the male wields a bow in his left hand and is about to discharge an arrow as he has stretched the string and brought it to his right shoulder. Arrows are visible in the quiver hanging on his back behind the left shoulder.
L	c	—	Head of woman. This is a well modelled head of a woman with hair done both in the form of a bun at the top as well as in ringlets falling on both sides. Large *kuṇḍalas* adorn the ears. The modelling is very good.
LIII	f	—	Horse. A caparisoned horse is tied to a tree. The figure is extensively damaged but whatever is left is enough to show that this is the best of all representations of animal figures.
LVII	d	—	A woman warrior wearing the shoes of a *Vidyādhara*, wields an uplifted sword with the left hand and a shield with her right. She has a conspicuous hair style with a large bun at the back, wears a necklace, arm bands, bracelets and kundalas. The curves of the body have been executed with mastery and confidence, investing the whole composition with a fluent harmony. The figure next to it (XLVII) (e) has the same theme and similar composition but stands no comparison to this one.

The temple of Pahārpur has been assigned to the 8th century A.D.[4] If our conclusions in regard to the age of the temple of Bhītargāon are accepted, Pahārpur would come three centuries later. Judging the art of Pahārpur as whole it appears that with the passage of centuries there was a steady decline in the standards reached in the early Gupta period particularly at Bhītargāon.

DEH PARBATIYA

The terracotta panels recovered at this site bear resemblance to those of Pahārpur. Only one fragmentary panel has been published. It represents a seated figure in *sukhāsana*, and bears close resemblance to the style of Paharpur.[5] It would be hazardous to offer any evaluation on the basis of this solitary example.

MEDHAT GOKUL

Only three small fragmentary plaques of indifferent workmanship[6] have been published.

KUMRAHĀR

In the course of excavations conducted at Kumrahār from 1951 to 1955, eleven architectural terracotta panels some of which are complete and some in the form of fragments were discovered of which ten were illustrated.[7] These finds have been assigned to the period of 300 to 450 A.D.,[8] and represent a standing Viṣṇu, a male bust, the figure of a headless *Vidyādhara*, a *mithuna* composition, three torsos of female figures, a female head, the upper part of a female figure with head and the crude figure of a headless woman. Since these ten panels or their remnants have been illustrated they may briefly be considered.

Standing Viṣṇu Pl. XXXVIII (1) 23×12 cms. It is a small and rather ill-proportioned figure, the girth being greater in proportion to the height and the plaque is much worn. The god has four arms, wears a *vanamālā*, *kuṇḍalas* in his ears and his *dhotī* is secured with a waist-band. From what is left it appears that considerable attention to detail was given.

Male bust Pl. XXXVII 23×22 cm. This is the most remarkable of all the panels illustrated. There is a fillet around the forehead. Curls are shown immediately above the crown and these fall on either side in ringlets. The moustaches are waxed and point upwards which gives the face a very distinctive expression. The chest and hands are beautifully modelled and much attention has been given to detail. The presence of prominent moustache invests the wearer with a personality uncommon in other representations of male figures elsewhere. Another example in an architectural panel is a terracotta in the State Museum, Lucknow[9], labelled as coming from Srāvastī. These two plaques share the same gaunt appearance, spare physique, large moustaches and thick eyebrows and if they were kept side by side one would be inclined to attribute a common provenance to them. The artistic idiom employed in these panels is, however, very different from that of other contemporary styles. Both are doubtless portrait sculptures not representing the ideal youthful male with smooth skin lacking in muscle texture, but a middle-aged man with a muscular body possessing a distinct character.

Flying *vidyādhara*, Pl. XXXIX 43×30 cm. The figure is headless and the illustration not very distinct; the difficult stance which the composition required has been executed in a flowing articulation of the limbs and this composition is comparable to any of the best panels of the Gupta period.

Mithuna composition, Pl. XL 90×60 cm. Only the female figure survives but it is much damaged and is headless; very little of the male companion is left. The figure is well composed and the lines are graceful.

Bust of female, Pl. LXXVII (No. 1), 16×14 cm. Only the breasts remain which are well modelled and, despite severence from the rest of the figure, maintain voluptuous appeal.

Bust of female, PL. LXXVIII. 19×13 cm. This is similar to Pl. LXXVII (No. 1) but somewhat less appealing.

Bust of female, PL. LXXVII (No. 2), 17×15 cm. The modelling is superior to that of the previous two busts but the most noteworthy feature is the presence of a decolette upper garment, which goes over the left shoulder but is neatly gathered in folds on the chest with a clip or bias at the level of the armpit.

Female head, Pl. XLI, 10×8 cm. This is a beautifully modelled head and appears to have once adorned a *gavākṣa*. Pressed tightly at the forehead, the hair is allowed to form a honeycomb pattern above, and then drawn up straight to form into a chignon at the top of the crown. The modelling of the eyebrows, nose, lips, cheek and chin is distinctive, the degree of attention being in no way less than what would have been devoted to stone.

Female bust with head, Pl. LI. B., 17×13 cm. Only the head and part of the left arm remains. It is a well modelled face with prominent eyes. The figure wears heavy earrings, numerous large bangles on the forearm, an armlet on the upper arm, and a necklace. The hair is parted in the middle and combed straight with only a few locks showing below the water-pitcher cushion placed on the top of the head. This object appears to us to be in the round but has been noticed in view of its inclusion in the list of panels.

Crude figure of a headless woman, Pl. XXXVIII (No. 2), 22×17 cm. This is a very crude figure indifferently modelled and it is also doubtful whether it qualifies for being classed amongst architectural terracotta panels.

The finds at Kumrahār are on the whole of good artistic merit. It is a pity however that the objects are fragmentary. The two pieces illustrated in Pl. XXXVII and Pl. XLI would maintain their distinction in any collection of terracotta panels.

MAHĀSTHĀN

This is an ancient site in Bengal which was placed on the map of architectural terracotta panels for the first time about a hundred years ago when Cunningham discovered three panels and illustrated them.[10] These panels have been illustrated through etchings. One of these represents a bearded seated figure, the other an animal and the last a wheel placed on a pedestal with rays emanating at intervals from the circumference. The illustrations show that these pieces are of very indifferent workmanship. Subsequently in the *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report* for 1928-29 a panel discovered from the same site was illustrated.[11] It shows the figure of an infantile male with hands raised and abdomen resting on the ground. The artistic merit and style is similar to that of the panels illustrated by Cunningham. Later on however some extraordinarily beautiful panels were unearthed from the same site.

A circular terracotta medallion now in possession of the Indian Museum Calcutta, shows a young maiden in dalliance with a youth. Both figures are shown three-fourths and standing. The girl stands in *tribhanga* attitude. Her head is inclined to the left, and shown in three-quarters profile, the bust is in line with the axis of the body but the left hip protrudes to the left, accentuating the opposed inclination of the waist. She is holding up a covered vessel in her left hand. The right arm is damaged. The hair is dressed in an elaborate style, the front in the form of a fillet of links and on the right, spiral ringlets fall downward. A large *kuṇḍala* of intricate workmanship adorns the visible right ear. There is a diadem in the centre of her coiffure. The neck ornament consists of strings of pearls twisted into a rope pattern with a rectangular amulet in the centre. The left wrist is adorned by a round bangle. She wears a *sikachchha dhotī* the frontal flare falling in graceful waves. There is no *uttarīya* or upper garment and the bosom is undraped. The base of the vessel bears a chequered embossed motif and the cover which is convex is adorned with lotus petals with a circular tablet in the centre. Her male companion also stands in *tribhaṅga* attitude but the two turns are less pronounced. While the maiden looks coy he has a countenance so bold as to appear inebriated. He sports an elaborate hairdo with long locks falling on either side of the head, wears plain *kuṇḍalas* in the ears, and a necklace of large beads. His left hand is placed on the left thigh which is raised to the left, and with his right he fondles the left breast of the maiden. His *dhotī* is similar to that of his companion but while the spare length in the case of the maiden falls in graceful feminine curves, that of the male is brave and straight. A band or belt with a clasp is also worn over the *dhotī*. All around the frame are stylised lotus petals in the background. The artistic excellence with which this panel is endowed would entitle it to be included among the best panels so far found. V.S. Agrawala dates it to the 6th century A.D.[12]

Another panel from the same site represents the dream of queen Māya. This one is extensively damaged but is of equally good artistic quality. It is again dated to the 6th century.[13]

BADOPĀL, SŪRATGARH, RANGMAHĀL, BIKANER

At Sūratgarh, a small town about 181 km. north-east of Bikaner, and from Badopāl, the latter about 11 km from Rangmahāl, a large number of terracotta plaques were unearthed. Many of these were photographed, but unfortunately only a few were published in 1918—three from Suratgarh, and seven from Rangmahāl and Badopāl.[14] Since then further investigations were conducted at Rangmahāl but no terracotta plaques have been published.[15] The panels from Sūratgarh represent a winged garuḍa in crouching position, a monster with bovine head, a human bust but a single elephantine leg (*ekapāda*) and an elephant carrying on its back a man fully stretched out and prone. The panels from Rangmahāl represent Kṛṣṇa govardhanadhāra, a multi-headed Śiva with Pārvatī, Balarāma accosting a *gopī*, two male figures and two female figures. Of these, the Kṛṣṇa govardhanadhāra and one of the female figures are of good workmanship; the rest of indifferent quality.

From the sporadic discoveries of carved bricks as well as architectural terracotta panels it appears that this form of decoration was employed over a large area of Rajasthan. Discoveries of terracotta panels were made also at Nāgarī in Rajasthan in the course of excavations carried out more than 50 years ago and described by D.R. Bhandarkar.[16] Five heads have been illustrated. The relief in Pl. XXI (b) shows two, a male and a female; the male old and pensive and the lady cheerful and young. Plate XXI (c) shows three heads, two of women and one of a man. All these are architectural terracotta panels and have borders of lotus petals. These appear to have been in pairs since the left border of one is curved while the right is straight and *vice-versa* in the case of the other. The workmanship is indifferent and does not compare well with the best panels discovered elsewhere. Plate XXII (d) illustrates four panels measuring 21 × 14 cm. One of these shows a feeding duck and the other a duck preening itself, but both are devoid of foliations so dear to the heart of the Gupta artist. Panels No. 3 and 4 represent pouter pigeons with extravagent foliations for the tail. In the same Pl. XXII (b), specimens of nine bricks used for ring courses or for pilasters and capitals have been illustrated. These have lotus motifs in different forms but bear no similarity with those of Bhītargāon.

KEŚORAYĀPATANĀ

At Keśorayāpatanā in district Bundi, Rajasthan a panel was discovered which is now in the National Museum at New Delhi. It is a *gavākṣa* with a girls's head peeping out of a window bordered by large lotus petals. The hair of the maiden falls on both sides in a form which looks very much like a bunch of grapes, a coiffure uncommon elsewhere. The neck ornament has a simple cord motif. The eyes are incised and not modelled, the nose is flared, the lips thick and the mouth wide. It is decidedly a most expressive face but there is no touch of delicacy.[17]

MIRPUR KHĀS

From Mīrpur Khās,[18] now in Pakistan, a number of panels were discovered in the course of excavations conducted there. They were found on the plinth of a *stūpa*, the base of which was about five metres high. These finds have been described in some detail by Moti Chandra. Twentyseven panels have been illustrated and these relate to the following subjects :

Subjects	*No.*	*Subjects*	*No.*	*Subjects*	*No.*
Seated Buddha	6	Drummer	1	Peacock	5
Jambhala	2	*Mithuna*	1	*Yakṣa* with foliated decoration	2
Donor	2	Lion or lion head	3		
Dancer	1	Snake	1	*Kīrtimuka*	3

Of these, the Buddha images (2a and 3a) as well as a figure of Jambhala or Kubera (4c) have been very beautifully executed. The most outstanding single work however is the donor (5c). The rest are small and of indifferent workmanship. There is very little resemblance between these panels and those of central north India and as mentioned earlier the style of the artists of Mīrpur Khās was different from that of the Gupta artists further east.

NEWAL

The discovery of ornamental bricks at Newal in district Unnao has already been mentioned in Chapter IV. Terracotta panels were also recovered from this site. The reproductions which were published were based on inexpert etchings and, though belonging to the Gupta period, do not commend themselves for inclusion in this account. However, a panel depicting Ardhanāreśvara which is now in the National Museum, New Delhi, possesses remarkable artistic features and should, therefore, be mentioned.[19] It shows a firm chiselled face and much attention has been paid to detail and decoration with ornaments. From the size of the face it appears that the full figure would have been about life-size. We cannot determine whether it was in the round or constituted an architectural terracotta panel. There is a halo behind the head which may have formed part of a flat panel. The lips are thick, and the eyes are clearly defined with incisions instead of modelling. The characteristics of composition are more akin to the material from Ahichchhatra and Śrāvastī than to that at Bhītargāon where greater attention has been given to delicate modelling.

BĀREHĀT

South of the Vindhyan Range are the brick temples of Sirpūr, Tēr and Kharōd which are not embellished with terracotta panels fashioned in the style of those discovered at Ahichchhatra, Śrāvastī and Bhītargāon. However, a terracotta plaque was discovered at a place known as Bārehāt, district Bhind in Madhya Pradesh. It is now in the National Museum at New Delhi.[20] Its size is 26×21 cm. The left part is missing. A woman is sitting with legs folded under her, the right hand placed under the right cheek and the left hand resting on the left thigh. Combed striations mark the dress which is a *dhotī* worn from the waist downwards. There are plain bangles on the wrist, a simple neck ornament, and also probably small *kuṇḍalas* in the ears. The bosom is well-formed and is undraped. The hair is done in corrugated curls with a plain protrusion at the top. In the background is the trunk of a tree with large leaves. The mood of the lady is pensive and this has led to the interpretation that it represents Sītā in captivity. The features are unfortunately not as pretty as those in panels from Ahichchhatra or from Bhītargāon and the legs appear small in proportion to the torso.

KASIĀ

Of the antiquities unearthed at Anirudhawā in Kasiā, district Deoria, only four panels have been published.[21] These are being briefly described here.

1. Male head. Only the top right portion of the panel survives. This shows a head with a headgear in the form of a woollen cap. The features have been delicately carved.

2. Seated Buddha in *dharmachakra mudrā*. There is a grotesque figure lurking in the right top corner. This panel may have represented the temptation of Māra.

3. Queen Māya and the infant prince Siddhārtha. The queen looks fondly at the baby which is held by an attendant.

4. Feet and legs. Only the feet and legs of a clothed figure are visible; the panel may have been a representation of the standing Buddha.

Each of these four, exhibits mature talent on the part of the artist and the work is comparable to the best class of panels found else-where including Bhītargāon.

PAWAYĀ, GWALIOR

A total of 18 terracotta figures have been published from amongst the finds recovered during excavations during 1924-25. Of these only four appear to be architectural panels; the rest are mostly heads in the round. Except for the fragmentary figure of a woman with head demurely covered with a scarf none other is of any merit.

The heads are well modelled and show not only a variety of head dresses but also different expressions. These are however outside the scope of this analysis. The illustrated examples are very fragmentary but of excellent workmanship and are comparable to that of Bhītargāon. These have been assigned to 3-4th century A.D.[22]

ŚRĀVASTĪ

Panels in high relief were discovered at the Kachchī Kutī in Śrāvastī and of these only four have been published.[23] A distinctive feature of these panels is a border of large lotus petals along all the four sides. This is sometimes in relief and on occasion indicated only by incisions.

The top left panel No. 288 in illustration No. 3 shows on the right a seated female figure with large earrings, hands joined in front in an attitude of supplication.[24] On the left stands a male figure whose left arm is disproportionately large and elongated while his right hand is upraised. This is a scene from the *Ramāyāṇa* where Sūrpnakhā requests Lakṣmana to bestow on her his love. The next panel No. 289, has two figures running towards right with faces in three quarters profile. The bottom left photograph represents panel No. 313 in which two men are beating on drums which hang from their necks and rest on their abdomen. Both raise the drum stick with the right hand above their head, preliminary to bringing it down with force on the drum. The border is decorated with lotus petals which are not moulded; but delineated only by incision. In No. 287 which is the last representation, Hanumān is shown as wielding a long mace with both hands and attacking a warrior who is armed with a sword. The modelling is generally crude, the treatment of faces, hands and feet reveals inadequate grasp of anatomy. These panels do not stand comparison with the refined treatment and finish found at Bhītargāon. There is only one panel at Bhītargāon *i.e.* E.12.16 (Fig. 61) which has crude workmanship but is nevertheless forceful and even this plaque possesses a special character not to be found in the panels just described.

AHICHCHHATRA

Though a large number of terracotta panels were discovered at this site and have also been included in the photographic albums of the Archaeological Survey of India, the number published is small.[25] Those which are noteworthy may be briefly described.

Śiva Ganās at Dakṣa's sacrifice, Pl. LXI, No. 298. This is an execellent piece of relief sculpture comparable in the attention to detail to any stone relief work. The second figure on the right which is probably that of Indra, reminds one of the painting showing Bodhīsattva receiving offerings in Cave 1 of Ajantā. A cross belt is worn by the figure at the top left.

Śiva Ganās running away with sweets at the sacrificial feast of Dakṣa, Pl. LXII, No. 299. There are five ganās all of them naked and equipped with exaggerated organs of generation. The top left of the panel is obliterated. At the top right are two baskets, containing sweets and the *gaṇas* appear to have raided them, and are making merry with the loot.

Kinnarī, Pl. LXV, No. 303. *A Kinnarī* with a human head and the body of quadruped carries a male figure on her back; the *Kinnarī* is looking back. The details are sharp and the composition compact.

Contest between Dharmaputra and Jayadharatī, Pl. LXVI, No. 304. This panel in the National Museum, New Delhi, depicts the combat between Dharamputra and Jayadharatī. It does not compare with the superb craftsmanship displayed in other panels. Though a great deal of attention has been given to detail, the anatomy is disproportionate even if the disparity in the size of men and horses is overlooked.

Buddha in *padmāsana*, Pl. XLVIII, B. No. 136. The right hand of Buddha is raised, in *abhaymudra.* He wears a *Sanghāti* which covers both shoulders. An attendant is standing behind him. This is a master-piece amongst terracotta panels and as good a representation as found anywhere including Bhītargāon

The terracottas of Ahichchhatra are probably of the best artistic quality. In particular, the heads of Śiva and Pārvatī are so wonderfully executed that a parallel is unlikely to be found. So also is the torso of Chāmuṇḍa,[27] but these are outside the scope of the present survey since they are in the round and not in the form of panels.[26]

A panel now exhibited in the Allahabad Museum is said to have been acquired from Chandausi in district Moradabad, but is most likely to have come from Ahichchhatra. It represents the story of the attempt of the demon Pralambha to spirit away Balarāma.[28] Balarāma is shown sitting on the back of a figure with a grotesque face. On the left is Kṛṣṇa attacking the demon. According to the legend Pralambha deputed for this purpose by Kansa the tyrant of Mathura, assumed the form of a young boy and joined Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma in a game of blind man's buff. By deliberately manouevering to lose he had to submit to the penalty of providing mount to Balarāma, who gleefully jumped on to the demon's back. As soon as he had Balarāma under his control, Pralambha retransformed himself into his real shape. Undaunted, Kṛṣṇa ran to the rescue of his brother and after attacking the demon killed him. The figure of Kṛṣṇa is badly mutilated and so is that of the demon. Balarāma's face is full and smooth. The hair of both figures is done in plaits which are suspended on either side.

MATHURA

Some of the best terracotta panels of the Gupta period have been found at Mathura. A few of these may be mentioned. As in other cases, only those which have already been illustrated and published are being included.

Palace lady with *Viduṣaka.* The *Viduṣaka* is the object of playful attention from a young and pretty maiden. She pulls at a scarf which is thrown round the neck of the jester and he is clowning by making a funny grimace and placing his thumb on the nose. The woman has a honeycomb coiffure, and the ensemble is well-executed but the disproportionately small legs of the female figure strike a disconcerting note.[29] This has been placed in the 5th century A.D.

Kāliyādamana. This panel from Mathura in the Baroda Museum is unfortunately only a fragment of the original work. It shows a nāga worshipping at the feet of a life-size figure which has broken off. A nāgi stands with folded hands on the left. The lower parts of both bodies are in the form of snake coils. The composition points to the legend of Kāliyā subdued by the child Krṣṇa.[30]

Ascetic beheading himself in sacrifice. A bearded ascetic is crouching on his knees with his legs folded under his body. His left hand is raised and with his right he wields a sword which he has placed on his neck below the beard. He appears to be decapitating himself. This has been dated to the 5th century A.D.[31]

Kārtikeya on his vehicle the peacock. This panel deserves to be classed as one of the best pieces of Gupta terracotta art, comparable in artistic merit to the panels of Bhītargāon and even excelling some of these. It is exhibited in the Mathura Museum.[32] Kārtikeya wears a *niśka* jewel with two *bāghanakhās* (tiger's claws). In his left hand, he holds a shaft while he raises his right arm in *abhayamudra*. The lower folds of his *uttarīya* are visible in the right lower corner. He is seated on a peacock, which has mostly decayed; now only a claw remains.

It has been mentioned at the outset that the survey of contemporary terracotta art is confined only to architectural panels and has not been extended to other forms of terracotta artifacts such as toys, idols, small decorative pieces, articles of domestic use and seals. However, we should like to make an exception in favour of the supreme and probably the finest example of terracotta art so far found in the entire subcontinent. It is not possible to resist the temptation of mentioning this gem which is as good as an intricately carved ivory panel. This terracotta plaque which was first recovered from a mound in Tāmluk, Bengal, in the eighties of the last century was illustrated in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for March 1888.[33] Later on, it appears to have travelled across the seas to Europe and was on the second occasion included in the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year 1937*.[34] It was subsequently described in detail together with a discussion of its identity and provenance in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* in 1942.[35]

E.H. Johnston[36] as well as Stella Kramrisch[37] were of the view that this piece originated at Kausambi but S. Saraswati[38] thinks that it was made in Tamluk. There is no difference of opinion about its age which is assigned to the second century B.C.

The size of this plaque is 21 × 10 cm and it was meant most probably to be hung as a wall decoration indoors. It is in prime condition with no sign of wear but the lower portion from the ankle downwards has broken off. On the plaque itself the only signs of damage are a small patch on the left thigh and the head of the bird ornament in the middle of the waist. The face is beautiful beyond comparison, serene and yet exuberant. The adornment of the figure is overelaborate but done with such sensitive refinement that it does not appear to be too crowded or overdone. The lavish detail of attention given to this small piece is so considerable as to be almost unbelievable. The background is decorated with rosaces showing flowers. The coiffure, dress and ornaments may be briefly described.

The hair is gathered in a close fitting bonnet which has a border of four rows of beads ending in two tassels of flowers. On the left of the bonnet another turban is worn which is bound with a highly ornamented fillet. This left headgear itself is composed of five bands from which are suspended strings of pearls. The right (proper) turban or headgear is in one piece, ornamented with six rows of floral motifs, interspersed with strings of pearls or beads. At the top of this turban are stuck five emblems, representing *triśula*, axe and *ankuśa*.

The drapery is of crinkled fabric indicated by fine combed lines. Owing to the abundance of jewellery, the upper garment cannot be made out easily. The lower is in the form of *sikachchha dhotī*, from which two series of tasellated strings of beads or pearls are suspended. Just above these are four figures, two embossed on each thigh. In spite of the figures being minute, their features are well defined. These are male figures squatting with elbows resting on the knees, and hands raised to the head which is covered by a conical headdress. The *uttarīya* which passes from the right shoulder to the left hip is decorated with amulets representing two fish, a parrot, a sleeping doe and a *makara*. Strings of beads are also suspended from the *uttarīya*.

The ears have extraordinarily large *kuṇḍalas* from which strings of pearls are suspended. A heavy necklace with elaborate embossing is worn round the neck. A three-stringed girdle adorns the hips, the upper and lower strings, being composed of oval beads, and the central of circular disks. There is a clasp in the centre. She holds up the girdle on either side with her hands. Four bracelets are worn on each wrist, but there are no armlets.

The proof of the existence of terracotta art of such singular excellence six centuries, before the Gupta age, leads to the view that its efflorescence in the Gupta period was not new or sudden but was based on deep and old foundations.

The Bhītargāon temple is decidedly one of the most important landmarks in the history of ancient Indian architecture. It is the earliest temple with a *Śikhara*, and is embellished with terracotta ornaments of unparalleled beauty. Ever since its discovery in 1877 there is not a book or article on ancient Indian architecture which does not mention Bhītargāon, and there are more than a hundred such published references. Owing to want of adequate illustration of the rare treasures which its ornaments constitute, they did not unfortunately receive the attention they deserved. The monument has also suffered from another injustice. During the last one hundred years or so, since it was discovered, though more than a hundred published references have been made to it, not more than five are based on survey on the spot and even these are very widely separated by time. Between 1912 and 1964 for more than half a century there was no survey made on the spot, and whatever was written about Bhītargāon was based on the short notices recorded by Cunningham, Vogel and Longhurst. Then in quick succession three short accounts were published in 1968 and 1969. Of the six references the first two made by Cunningham, and Vogel are profound though succint while the other four incorporate numerous misconceptions.

Until 1912, the only published examples were those of three reproductions of panels illustrated in Cunningham's survey brought out in 1880. The Archaeological Survey of India Report for 1908-09 printed in 1912 contained one more example. One panel was published in 1964[39] and then 25 more in 1968[40] and nine new panels in 1969[41] making a total of 39 panels. Unfortunately the quality of the reproduction in the two series of 1968 is so poor that these have to be discounted altogether.

The following is a list of the reproductions of panels published so far :

Particulars of Publication	*Year in which published*	*Fig. or Pl. No.*	*Title (in present study)*	*Fig. No. (of present study)*
1	2	3	4	5
Vol. XI of the *A.S.I.R.*	1880	Pl. XVI	Fighting birds	189
		,,	Men and *makaras*	159
		Pl. XVII	Viṣṇu with Madhu and Kaitabha	84
A.S.I.A.R. 19 8-09	1912	Fig. 2	Gaṇeśa with a platter of sweets	85
O. Viennot, Les Divinites Fluviales Gangā et Yamunā,	1964	Pl. 216	Gaṅgā	58
Bulletin of *Museums and Archaeology in U.P.* No. 1	1968	Fig. 5	Two lions with single head	163
		Fig. 6	Foliated motif	195
		Fig. 7	*Makara*	170
		Fig. 8	Bird with foliated wing and tail	180
		Fig. 9	Mythical animal	164
		Fig. 10	Lotus medallion	196
		Fig. 11	Peacock	182
		Fig. 12	Foliated Motif	190
Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P., No. 2	1968	Fig. 1	Gaṅgā on *Makara*	58*
		Fig. 2	Viṣṇu on Garuda	57
		Fig. 3	Four-armed goddess	73
		Fig. 4	Ascetic	62
		Fig. 5	Viṣṇu as *Varāha* Avatāra	71
		Fig. 6	Viṣṇu with *Āyudhapuruṣas*	72
		Fig. 7	,, ,,	66
		Fig. 8	Durgā destroying demons	78

Contd.

1	2	3	4	5
		Fig. 12	Śiva and Pārvatī	65
		Fig. 14	Viṣṇu Strangulating two demons	67
		Fig. 15	Warriors attacking adversary	150
		Fig. 16	Kṛṣṇa slaying elephant Kuvalayāpīdha	81
		Fig. 17	Man striking an adversary with a sword	61
		Fig. 18	Nāga deity	68
Marg, Vol. XXII, No. 2.	1969	Fig. 4	Viṣṇu with Madhu and Kaitabha	84*
		Fig. 5	Śiva and Pārvatī	65*
		Fig. 6 & 7	Gaṇeśa with a platter of sweets	85*
		Fig. 8	Viṣṇu with *Āyudhapuruṣas*	72*
		Fig. 9	Durgā destroying demons	78*
		Fig. 10	*Mithuna* couple	123
		Fig. 11	Head of female	140
		Fig. 12	Head of female	132
		Fig. 13	Head of female	136
		Fig. 14	Head of female	135
		Fig. 19	Kneeling figure	111
		Fig. 21	Mythical animal	160
		Fig. 22	Four-armed goddess	73*
		Fig. 24	Fighting birds	189*
		Fig. 25	Viṣṇu as *Varāha* Avtāra	71*
		Fig. 26	*Makara*	175
		Fig. 27	Bird	187
		Fig. 28	Men and *Makaros*	159*
J. C. Harle, *Gupta Sculpture, of the Fourth to Sixth Centuries A.D.*, Oxford		1974		
		132	Śiva and Pārvatī	65*
		133	Visnu with *Āyudhapurṣas*	72*
		134	Gangā	58*

Serial numbers 9, 10, 11 and 13 of the illustrations published in the *Bulletin of Museums and* Archaeology in U.P. Vol. 2 were ommitted and not reproduced. Figure numbers marked with an asterisk are those which were published earlier.

In an illustrated article which appeared in *Mārg*, Vol. XXII, No. 2 certain terracottas belonging to other sites were incorrectly attributed to Bhītargāon. All but one were taken from the collection in the State Museum in Lucknow and have either a specific provenance or the find place is not known. Their particulars are as follows :

Fig. No. In Marg	*State Museum Lucknow Accession no.*	*Particulars*	*Provenance*
15	Not traced	Gaṇeśa	Not known
16	67.614	Kṛṣṇa as child	Śrāvastī
17	67.141.6	Kāliādamana	Bahādurganj, Etah.
18	67.123.6	Hanūman	Śrāvastī
20	67.146	Rearing Horse	Śrāvastī
23	S.575	Kneeling woman	Not known

Excluding the reproductions in the *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, since they do discredit to the superb art displayed at Bhītargāon, we have thus only 19 published examples, of which 15 are recent. The world of art history has, therefore, been unaware of the uncommon quality of these terracotta pieces. Though the evaluation made by Cunningham is more than a century old and that of Vogel and Longhurst was made more than seventy years ago, when the comparative study of ancient Indian art was in its infancy, these still hold good. It would do well to refer to the opinions of these pioneers. Referring to the terracotta sculpture of Bhītargāon, Cunningham said that "Their execution, however, is still far superior to that of most of the existing stone temples of later period."[42] "The terra-cotta sculptures of the Bhītargāon temple," said Vogel,[43] "are well-moulded and full of action. They remind one of the terra-cotta fragments found in such abundance around the main temple of the ancient city of Śravastī (the so-called Kachchī Kutī) in the course of my excavation in the winter of 1907-8. The Bhītargāon terra-cottas show, however, superior workmanship and may, on that account, be assigned to a somewhat earlier period." In 1909, A.H. Longhurst wrote,[44] "The terra-cottas that I have collected at Bhītargāon are the finest I have ever seen in India; the expression given to the faces and the life and action shown in the modelling of the limbs and figures are almost perfect."

It ts inevitable that a scale should be adopted keeping in view the artistic level achieved at Bhītargāon, and the merit of terracottas from other sites judged against this yardstick.

We have already considered the best published representative specimens from as many as 18 sites and have found that out of 237 panels published from Pahārpur only 17 could possibly be considered for comparison and out of these only six reach anywhere near the standards in view. In the case of Deh Parbatiyā and Medhat Gokul, Nāgari and Srāvastī, there is no specimen which could be regarded as coming within the range of the standards so set. Of the ten panels from Kumrahar only four are of comparable merit. From the very few examples of Mahāsthān available only two could be judged as qualifying for merit. Two out of ten from the complex of sites Badopāl, Sūratgarh, Rangmahāl and Bikaner, and four out of 27 from Mīrpur Khās, one from Newal and all the four from Kasiā, are also comparable. From Ahichchhatra five panels qualify for inclusion and three from Mathura. Thus out of more than 300 published panels only about 30 or 10% of the entire sample available could be considered to be of merit equivalent to that displayed at Bhītargāon.

It would now be worthwhile to consider in a little more detail, the technique employed which distinguishes the terracottas of Bhītargāon from other contemporary or even later clay sculpture.

A special feature which strikes the spectator as unique is the almost universal anatomical balance in the figures in Bhītargāon. Though the figure of the goddess Gangā (Fig. 58) and also those of her attendants are badly damaged, the proportion as well as the details can still be judged. Whatever the size of the figure, the limbs are anatomically proportionate to the height and girth. Look at the gaunt figure of the ascetic in Fig. 62. How proportionate are the arms to the rib cage and how aptly are these aligned to the lower part of the body. The composition in Fig. 65 is the supreme example of the perfection of terracotta art not only in Bhītargāon but probably in the whole country. Inspite of the panel being badly mutilated, one can still observe the refined and minute modelling of each muscle on the torso of the male figure. So also is, the lissome but full breasted figure of Pārvatī. The figure of god Kṛṣṇa in Fig. 69 is in complete conformity with the tenets of physical beauty prevalent in the early Gupta period. In contrast with the Greek classical standards there is a slight protuberance of the stomach, very much in keeping with Indian traditions. The legs, the torso and the upper part of the arm are all in exquisite alignment. Though heavily clothed the figure of the god Viṣṇu (Fig. 72) maintains its own proportions of anatomy notwithstanding the demand made on the artist to provide six more arms. The figures of the *Āyudhapuruṣa* are masterpieces for balanced anatomical proportion. The Gadadevi is shorter than the *Chakrapuruṣa* and notwithstanding her muscular role as wielder of the mace she maintains her feminine charm which is apparent from the girth of the pelvis, the narrowness of the waist and the delicate balance with which the feet are placed apart on the ground modestly but firmly. Even a higher degree of perfection can be observed in the figure of Durgā (Fig. 73) who is slim, tall and aristocratic. Her upper arm matches beautifully with the curve of her thighs. The same could probably not be said of the figure of Sītā (Fig. 75) as she is inclined towards corpulence but the limbs are not disproportionate. Not only the arms but the bosom and also the abdomen and so also the thighs have all the same layers of adiposity. Though performing a martial act of valour in vanquishing demons the voluptuous appeal with which the figure of the goddess Durga (Fig. 78) is invested has not been in the least diminished. The *mithuna* composition in Fig. 112 had a special feature of its own. The foreshortened hand of the male appears to be somewhat larger in proportion than other limbs. But in view of the fact that it is the foremost object in the foreground this exaggeration appears fully justified on artistic grounds. These examples could be multiplied many fold, from the limbs of Kartikeya in Fig. 85 to the corpulent man in Fig. 86 and the beautifully poised young man in Fig. 103. Inspite of the fact that the lady in Fig. 119 has nothing left of her except her feet and the legs, the appeal invoked in these beautifully modelled remnants provides enough imagination for a full visual re-construction of the entire figure. The male figure as well as the female companion sitting on bolsters in Fig. 124 have been shown in a posture difficult for a relief artist to fashion but the modelling problems involved have been overcome with exceptional mastery and the anatomy rendered in pleasing articulation.

The observations made in respect of the anatomical proportions of human beings apply almost in equal measure to animals also. However a certain degree of disproportion may be observed when human figures are juxtaposed with animals. Examples in point are the crocodile in the image of Gangā (Fig. 58), the non-existent Nandī bull one of whose hoofs can be observed in the left lower plane of Fig. 65, the bull in Fig. 69 and the elephant in Fig. 81. It needs to be remembered that in each of these cases the animal figures have been shown in association with gods. The spiritual stature of gods was, in the eyes of the artist always translated in physical proportions also. The most famous example is the Buddha statute in cave No. 17 of Ajantā in which the saint is shown facing Yaśodharā and his son Rahula the former standing in awe, weighted down with the uncertainty of the master's final decision.[45] In this figure Buddha has been shown at least three times taller than his wife. The artist wanted to present in visual form the spiritual stature of the saint. The same applies to gods also. In each of these cases, the god is supposed to be of a stature larger than that of a mere human being and where he is vanquishing a demon as in the case of the Vṛṣabhāsura or Kuvalayāpīdha and also where the animal is a vehicle as is in the panels of Gangā and Śivā it occupies a position inferior to that of the deity. However the disproportion is not so great as to appear disconcerting. In almost every case animal figures have been represented with great realism. This holds particularly good of the *makara* representations specially in Fig. 170, 173 and 175.

Whether it is an individual figure or a group of figures the composition is almost always harmonious and compact adhering to the universally accepted principles of artistic excellence. Goddess Gangā (Fig. 58) is accompanied by two attendants and rides on a crocodile. These figures blend harmoniously one with the other. The inclination of the attendant to the right balances with the left curve of Gangā's body and the vacant space in the right lower corner is occupied by the other attendant whose figure snugly fits into the small triangle. Mention has already been made of the exquisitely pleasing composition of the figures of Śiva and Pārvatī (Fig. 65) where the graceful curve on the form of the goddess is balanced by the brave and manly but artful curve of the right shoulder of Śiva. Inspite of the profusion of vertical figures in the panel of Viṣṇu with his *Āyudhapuruṣas* (Fig. 72) the ensemble is a masterpiece in relief tilt composition. The right lift of the shoulder of the god is balanced by his prominent second hand on the left shoulder of the *Chakrapurṣa* and the curve of his left thigh finds symmetry in the curve of the right hip of Gadādevī. With the neck of the god as centre, slanting lines could be drawn almost straight above the shoulder of the god's proper right hand to the shoulder of Gadādevī and an almost similar straight line from the left shoulder blade of the god to the upper level of the hand resting on *Chakrapuruṣa*, both angles being equal with the centre of the body as axis. The composition of the figures in Fig. 75 would do credit to the very best sculptor. Against the tall male figure which fills the entire vertical space on the left, balance has been created with remarkable refinement by the introduction of the pigeon on the right. Śeṣaśayī Viṣṇu (Fig. 84) composition is generally unbalanced in many of the representations elsewhere. Here, as against the larger stature of the god on the left the two demons on the right invest the picture both with vertical as well as horizontal harmony. Diagonal parallels with curves have been introduced with remarkable effect in Fig. 85. The curve created by the inclination forward of the corpulent figure on the right in Fig. 86 finds an exquisite balance in the opposite curve of the hips and protuberant stomach of the seated figure. There are no less than six figures in the unidentifiable panel in Fig. 88 but they have been so arranged that despite mutilation and lack of details they fit in snugly almost like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle.

Though only two legs can be seen in Fig. 90 and the rest of the panel has been completely destroyed these do not strike any incongruous note. The *sukhāsana* pose of the man in Fig. 91 with the torso in tension and the very delicate inclination of the waist towards the right is balanced by the forward thrust of the chest. Mention has already been made of the circular composition of the seated figure of the young man in Fig. 103. There is near perfection of anatomy and the need to foreshorten the left leg and left forearm and the complementary elongation of the right forearm has been successfully avoided. This composition has been created with such artistic virtuosity that a parallel would be difficult to find. Inspite of the almost total mutilation of the upper parts of the relief in Fig. 119, it can still be observed that to strike a balance in a composition of two figures, the right knee of the lady is bent towards her right and the left hip balances this stance by a slight turn towards her left. The squatting figure of a man besides her creates a harmonious composition.

There are no less than nine multi-dexterous figures of gods and goddesses. Viṣṇu in Fig. 66 and 77 has four arms and again in Fig. 67 as many as six. Durgā in Fig. 73 and 78 is endowed in each with four arms, Viṣṇu has in Fig. 72 no less than eight arms, Kṛṣṇa in Fig. 79, Nārayāna in Fig. 83 and Gaṇeśa in Fig. 85 each have four arms. The introduction of additional arms has been accomplished with such adroitness that no incongruity has resulted.

The facial aspect of those figures which time and weather has mercifully allowed to remain unbeheaded are suffused with a variety of expressions not to be encountered even in stone sculpture on a single monument. There are no less than 44 examples of figures with faces. We shall consider only a few. Let us observe agony writ large on the faces of the demons who are being strangled in Fig. 67. The eyes are bulging out of their sockets, the muscles of the face are in tension and the mouth gasping for air. The Nāga deity sits scerenely in Fig. 68 under the umbrella of serpent hoods with a countenance manifesting total detatchment. The intense face of the young man whose posture is composed in the form of a circle in Fig. 103 is on the other hand fully conscious of the task which he is performing in making an offering. Though the figure is badly weathered and has a coating of various acids which have made it mottled, self effacement is writ large on the countenance. The nonchalant demeanor of the wrestler in Fig. 104 radiates confidence and strength. The dwarf in Fig. 105 on the other hand appears to be internally perturbed and lacking in confidence. There is an unmistakable evidence of simplicity verging on feeble-mindedness in the expression on the face of the man in Fig. 106. The most well preserved of all images (Fig. 107) is somewhat similar to that of the Nāga deity in Fig. 68. His face radiates compassion and serenity but lack of attachment. The *Vidyādhara* in Fig. 108 has a pose similar to that of the man in Fig. 103 but there is considerable variation in the expression. While the person in Fig. 103 appears to have an inert character, the one in Fig. 108 is purposeful and full of mirth. The *gana* in Fig. 109 appears to be inebriated. The young boy in Fig. 110 has an expression of ennui on his face though provided with a handful of sweets. The beautiful young lady who watches out of her window in Fig. 118 is demure and cautiously wears a look of detachment lest a passerby misinterpret her mood. Another window peeper in Fig. 131 is unsophisticated, her facial aspect radiating contentment. In contrast the one in Fig. 132 is pensive and even though the ends of her lips are curled upwards they have not succeeded in imparting to her a mood of cheerfulness. The face in Fig. 133 is that of a morose woman and so is that of the girl in Fig. 137 pensive and serious. But the face in Fig. 139 is not only pretty, its owner is also conscious of her youth and beauty. Figure 140 shows features of a very plain girl which are a reflection also of her mental equipment. Figure. 141 exemplifies intentness, Fig. 142 a certain amount of voluptuous appeal and Fig. 145 an enigmatic smile on her face.

We have considered the variety of facial expressions in some of the figures which still have their faces intact either in whole or in part. Not only were the artists adept in modelling expressive faces with full control of facial anatomy, we also find that they have succeeded in showing violent action with vigour. The god Kṛṣṇa (Fig. 69) has tensed his muscles to such an extent that three of his ribs are clearly visible. The left toes dig into the ground so that he can hold the bull at bay against the left knee. The bull itself has not yet lost his power and is shown reared up with almost as much strength if not more than what the god is bringing to bear upon him. Though the figure of the god Kṛṣṇa (Fig. 81) is small and almost child-like he is dealing blow upon blow to the prone elephant having hoisted himself up above the animal with the right knee pressing his trunk down. This is an example of remarkable animation. The panel in Fig. 152 contains no less than three animal figures and one of a man on the left. The stretched body of the tiger with an almost equally tense flexion of the body of the human warrior is remarkable for representation of dynamic action.

Power has also been shown with poise and without its dynamic overtones. The Varāha Avatara is invested with unfathomable power of which every inch of his body is eloquent and yet there is no violence or movement. The wrestler in Fig. 104 stands serene and calm but every part of his body proclaims strength and confidence.

The configurations in the representation of erotic mood and ardent dalliance has been brought alive in no less than seven compositions. The virtuosity displayed in showing human bodies coming together in coherent curves has been undertaken by the accomplished craftsman with a high degree of mastery. Mention has already been made of the various attitudes in which the male and female figures have been shown. In Fig. 120 the lady falls in abandon upon the chest of the man entwining her arm around the companion's body and the man reciprocates by fondling her right breast. In Fig. 121 the young man is seated and the lady falls backward upon him to be held by the lover whose hand passes below the right armpit in order to clasp her. Fig. 122 is enigmatic but it is decidely a parallel to the one in Fig. 124. Violent action culminating in the merger of bodies can be seen in Fig. 123 with the appropriate flexion of each limb from the toe upwards to the shoulders. Fig. 124 shows a discourse preliminary perhaps to physical association. Violent action is also shown in Fig. 125 where the male appears to be spiriting away the female. Abandon again makes its reappearance in Fig. 126 and a purposeful clasp with matching sensuous expression in the face of the man in Fig. 127. Alas, the woman's reciprocity cannot be observed as she is without a head. The depiction of such a variety of postures and moods with the corresponding need for artful modelling were in themselves a challenge for which no parallel is available in terracotta sculpture. Even stone sculpture does not provide such a wide variety of representations of intermingling of bodies with matching facial expressions.

Not only was the sculptor of these terracottas a master in the matter of anatomy and facial expression, he was as much at home with minute decoration in intricate detail. A few examples would suffice to show how clay was used as gold or ivory. Though much mutilated one can still notice the three-hooded ornament on the arm of Gangā and the beautiful crinkles on her *uttariya*. Even the attendant who bends forward is shown with thin folds on the lean stomach above the clearly marked navel. Almost each feather on the wing of the bird has been separately delineated. It is possible even to observe the nail on the left large too of Gangā's attendant. In Fig. 65 one can observe the anklets, the armlets and the necklace worn by goddess Pārvatī notwithstanding the fact that these are hardly a few centimetres in size. Even the *Yajñopavitta* of the *Ganas* standing below the throne has been clearly marked in addition to the artistic modelling of their fleshy chests. The Varāha avatāra has a most profusely ornamented figure with intricate ornaments on the thighs and arms which are still visible inspite of the fact that the figure is much damaged. The folds on the *sārī* of the goddess whom he rescues have been marked with great refinement and the full observance of the principles of modelling. The mark of the *Nivībandha* on the diminutive figure of the female attendant on the left brings out in clear relief the tumescense above the adhesion of the cord. Not to be outdone even in a single panel, the artist has decorated in intricate detail the large *Vaijayantīmala* which the god Viṣṇu wears in Fig. 72. It is ornamented not with uniform monotony but with a number of varieties of flowers and leaves. The wrap of the skirt of the Chakrapuruṣa can be clearly observed as also the graceful creases on the *sārī* of Gadādevī. Mention has already been made of the beautiful uttarīya worn by goddess Durgā in Fig. 73 and the intricate patterns and designs woven in it which gives the impression that it is an ornament. She also wears anklets on her feet which closely follow the contour of the upper part of the feet in order to rest uniformly over them. The beautiful chain worn by the male figure in Fig. 82 is shown both with rings as well as the oval links in between. So is the bracelet and the prominent arm band. Even the nail of the small toe of the left foot is clearly delineated. In proportion to the size of the panel it would not be wider than half a centimeter but the artist did not consider it too much of a trouble to bring out the outline of the small toe also in clear incised curves. Figure 83 which shows the temptation of Nara Nārāyana has diminutive figures of apsaras one of whom can be seen with a face full of character, complete with hair style, the folds of the dress, prominent nose, the sharp curve of the lips and even the eye-lids in spite of the fact that according to actual measurement the face is not more than a few centimetres in size. Anklets on the woman in Fig. 119 have a special feature. In addition to encrustation of gems in precious metal, there are bosses in between and each anklet follows very closely the contour of the lower part of the ankle and the feet so that it appears to have been moulded upon it. Not only this, where the other foot is frontally placed on a low platform a portion of it beyond the edge, the first two toes bend downwards, a refinement of detail not to be seen even in the best of stone sculpture.

The sculptors of Bhītargāon were not only masters of anatomy and portraiture but were also craftsmen with the same touch as that of a jeweller or goldsmith. Almost in every panel there is articulate modelling comparable to work in ivory or precious metal. Reference has already been made to the ornaments as well as the fine features of folds on the human body including the delicate enunciation of the pressure exercised by a waist band on the abdomen (Fig. 58). Though Fig. 63 is almost completely obliterated what is left has been enlarged and shown in Fig. 63.1 and bears ample testimony to these special traits of the master craftsmen. Each nail on the feet of the Devi (Fig. 63) is clearly etched and so are also the anklets. The ascetics on the right have proper folds of their *sanghati* with linear curves above showing neatly the depression between the arm and the sternum which grow into diagonal curves where the dress is wrapped around the back and hips forming again into vertical creases when it falls on the legs. The fillet as well as the pendant on the forehead of Gaṇesa in Fig. 64 is neatly demarcated and so is the central line of the elephant head. It is difficult to overlook the intricacies introduced in the best of all the panels (Fig. 65). The cushion, the conchshell on the right and the folds of the dress of the diminutive figure which stands behind Pārvatī are all wonders of the clay modeller's art.

There is hardly a panel in which the figures are not embellished with ornaments, each ornament worked out with the same care as if it was not clay but gold or silver. Reference has already been made to the ornaments worn by goddess Gangā (Fig. 58), Pārvatı (Fig. 65), the trefoil arm band of the Nāga deity (Fig. 70) both on the thighs and arms of the Varaha avatara and also on Prīthivī (Fig. 71), on the arms and neck of

Viṣṇu (Fig. 72), the beautiful embossed *kankana* on the left hand of Durga (Fig. 73), on the arm of Balarāma (Fig. 79) and also on that of the demon in the panel below. There is a beautiful multi-petalled ornament on the arm of Kṛṣṇa as well as a *Kaustubhāmaṇī* on his chest (Fig. 181). The large hooded arm band, the *Kankanas* on the male figure (Fig. 81) and anklets on the feet of the damsel in the *mithuna* composition (Fig. 119) are remarkable. These alone would set apart these panels for a degree of excellence not to be met with in any terracotta sculpture in the entire length and breadth of the country.

In ancient Indian art, the human flesh was made alive by showing the pressure exercised by a waistband or even the clasp of an ornament. In the Gupta period and even later such examples can be found in abundance, mostly in sculpture in stone or bronze. Such a degree of refinement was neither contemplated nor was considered practicable by artisans practising terracotta art. However, in the panels at Bhītargāon examples of this particular feature abound.

We have already observed the ripples, folds and lines on the abdomen of Śiva as also on the fleshy body of the Ganas in Fig. 65. The same feature appears prominently at the waist of the goddess Durgā (Fig. 73) and again on the chest as well as the waist of the male in Fig. 82. These examples could be multiplied manifold since there is hardly a figure that has not been given the detailed attention of showing the *trīvalī taraṅga* by which this particular depiction was known.

An old device rendered popular with the use of the diaphanous sanghāti was the revelation of the curves and contours of the body from under the dress. Let us look again at the figure of the goddess Gangā and her attendant and see how the contours of the body are clearly revealed through her dress. The same is true also of the goddess Pārvatī in Fig. 65, of Sitā in Fig. 74 and 75, Laksmī in Fig. 76, Durgā in Fig. 78, the ladies in Fig. 124 and in Fig. 126 and 128.

The artists were masters of floral art whether in the abstract or as foliations attached to a living creature. There are abundant examples to be seen in the sinuous spirals of exceptional merit in Fig. 190 to 195. Where convdutions were attached to a bird these sprung out of the body so spontaneously as to appear as if these were not fantasies but representation of reality.

It would however not be fair to complete this narrative without a mention of certain lapses in the standards already set by the artists of Bhītargāon which have occured only in three instances. The composition in Fig. 61 is to a certain extent anatomically imperfect so much as there is an exaggerated and unnatural curve of the left arm of the victim and the faces appear to have been added as mere lumps without much attention to modelling. The reclining woman in Fig. 114 has large *kuṇḍalas* but a protruding abdomen and curled locks. So far so good. But the right hand which is partly foreshortened appears to be dislocated at the wrist. One of the figures peeping out of a window (Fig. 117) is rather crude with almost no indication of the elbow joint and the wrists are much thicker than what these should have been.

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CHAPTER VIII

ICONOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

Of the twenty three compositions which centre round the personality or legends of deities, as many as ten and possibly eleven represent Viṣṇu or his *Avatāras*; of the rest, no deity has more than two panels to himself. Śiva is represented in only one panel; with his consort in two. Durgā too has two panels to herself. Nāga deity has two, the rest one each. These latter are Gangā, Yamunā, Gaṇeśa and Laksmī. Including Laksmī, Viṣṇu and his consort appear in twelve of the iconographic representations. Most of the figures of gods and goddesses appear on the central body of the temple. There were a total of twentyfive frames but only eighteen are extant and iconographic representations on these are related to the following deities :

Viṣṇu	7	Gangā	1
Lakṣmī	1	Yamunā	1
Durgā	2	Nāga Deity	1
Śiva	1	Ascetic	1
Śiva and Parvatī	1	Gaṇeśa	1
		Unidentified	1

Total=18

These panels find places on the four faces of the temple in the following order :

Fig.	Panel No.	
57	E. 1.1	Viṣṇu on Garuḍa
58	E. 1.2	Gangā
59	E. 1.3	Yamunā
60	E. 1.4	Unidentified figures
62	S. 1.1	Ascetic
63	S. 1.2	Śiva
64	S. 1.3	Gaṇeśa

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36. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
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39. O. Viennot, *Les Divinites Fluviales Gaṅgā et Yamunā aux portes des sanctuaires de l'Inde*, Paris 1964, Pl. 21-b of Gangā on Makara.
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45. R.S. Gupta and B.D. Mahajan, *Ajanta, Ellora and Aurangabad Caves*, Bombay, 1962, pp. 94-95, Pl. XXXIV, Left.

CHAPTER VIII

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60	E. 1.4	Unidentified figures
62	S. 1.1	Ascetic
63	S. 1.2	Śiva
64	S. 1.3	Gaṇeśa

Fig.	Panel No.	
65	S. 1.4	Śiva and Pārvatī
66	S. 1.5	Viṣṇu
70	W. 1.1	Nāga
71	W. 1.2	Viṣṇu
72	W. 1.3	Viṣṇu
73	W. 1.4	Durgā
76	N. 1.1	Lakṣmī
77	N. 1.2	Viṣṇu
78	N. 1.3	Durgā
79	N. 1.4	Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma
80	N. 1.5	Rāma as archer

Viṣṇu has been shown in no less than seven panels, excluding the panel representing an ascetic (S. 1.1 Fig. 62). Siva, the only other major god is represented only once. Two panels bear the figure of Durgā, and one of Śiva and Pārvatī together. Three goddesses Gangā, Yamunā and Lakṣmī have one panel each. The iconographic weightage is thus excessively in favour of Viṣṇu. Eight more iconographic panels installed in the upper reaches of the themple are :

Fig.	Panel No.	
61	E. 12.16	Kṛṣṇa and Kamsa
67	S. 2.25	Viṣṇu killing demons
68	S. 3.26	Nāga deity
69	S. 3.27	Kṛṣṇa fighting Vṛsabhāsura
74	W. 3.27	Rāma and Sītā (Rāma was *Avatara* of Viṣṇu)
75	W. 9.33	Woman offering water to man (probably Sītā and Rāvaṇa, the latter disguised as a mendicant).
81	N. 3.27	Kṛṣṇa killing demon elephant
83	N. 9.40	Nara Nārāyana

Of these eight, at least six relate to Viṣṇu or his *avataras* and the legends associated with them. Here again, there is a preponderance of panels representing Viṣṇu or his *avataras*.

There is no trace of the idol or idols which may have been installed in the *garbha-gṛha*. Vogel was of the view that the existence of the image of Viṣṇu on the western face of the temple was not in itself an indication enough of the shrine being dedicated to this god. He has quoted the example of the temple of Visvēsvara at Bajaurā in the Kulu valley. In this temple the object of worship was a *Liṅga* notwithstanding the fact that the three outer niches of the temple were occupied by image-slabs representing Gaṇeśa on the south, Viṣṇu on the west and Durga Mahisamardini on the north.[1]

In the absence of any trace of the idol installed in the cella, reliance has, to be placed entriely on the external and at the best corroborative evidence. Taking into consideration, therefore, the preponderance of the Viṣṇu figure in the god's different manifestations it is most likely that the temple was dedicated to Viṣṇu. This also gains support from the fact that the central figure on the western face is Vārāha avatāra.

REFERENCE

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CHAPTER IX

DRESSES, HAIR STYLES AND ORNAMENTS

DRESSES OF MALE FIGURES

There are a total of 47 panels on which representations of the male figure with discernible lower garments appear. These are being briefly described.

CLOSE FITTING LOIN BREECHES

In 31 panels men or demons wear close fitting loin breeches. These hug the thigh, breech and waist and are generally very brief. There is no indication of the arrangement with which these are held in position. This garment can be seen in panels illustrated in Fig. 68, 71, 74, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 94, 95, 97, 100, 103, 108, 110, 111, 119, 122, 124, 149, 150, 151, 152, 154, 156, 158 and 159.

CLOSE FITTING LOIN BREECHES WITH A KNOT

Loin breeches are likely to have been held up with tied knots but these are not visible except in one case shown in Fig. 69. Here the breeches are brief but there is a prominent knot with loose ends lying on the right flank of the man who is engaged in combat with a bull, a representation no doubt of Kṛṣṇa fighting *Vṛiṣabhāsura*.

DHOTĪ-LIKE GARMENT WITHOUT ANY INDICATION OF BREECH

There are ten panels in which *Vikachchh-dhotī* can be seen. These are in Fig. 65, 72, 79, 83, 85, 98, 104, 120, 123 and 128.

Lord Śiva in Fig. 65 wears a lower garment in the shape of a lungi though not well defined owing to damage. Lord Viṣṇu in Fig. 72 is shown as wearing a lower garment in the shape of a *luṅgī*, the upper wrap of which is rounded at the lower end, goes from the right to the left, is tucked in at the left of the waist, and is further secured with the help of a twisted fabric knotted not in the centre of the abdomen but a little to the left with loose ends suspended from the knot, one long and the other short. The ends appear to have become unwound, as a result of the release of tension at the extremeties. There are folds of the lower and covered part of the wrap visible at the proper left. The *chakrapuruṣa* in the same panel also wears a similar dress. In the panel illustrated in Fig. 79, both Kṛṣṇa as well as Balrāma appear to wear *luṅgīs* though the length is short. There is no indication of a breech. The image of Nara in Fig. 83 has a wrapped lower garment which comes down to below the knees. The *dhotī* of Gaṇeśa (Fig. 85) which is undoubtedly *vikachchh* is short and ends up above the knees. The man in a brooding posture in Fig. 98, as also the self-confident wrestler in Fig. 104 have the same lower garment. In the *mithuna* composition in Fig. 120, the male partner wears a *vikachchh dhotī* which is held up with a belt with vertical markings. The agressively ardent young man in Fig. 123, and the one in sedate dalliance in Fig. 128 have the same lower garment. Of these 10 panels, cord or belt to hold up the *dhotī* can be seen only in Fig. 72, 120 and 128.

DHOTĪ PARTED IN THE MIDDLE

We have seen dhotīs which are wrapped around the waist without introducing a breech. There are also three representations of the *dhotī* as worn now-a-days in northern India. These can be seen in Fig. 57, 66 and 86. In Fig. 57 the folds of the garment show that it is wrapped round the thighs. There is some indication of a belt with vertical as well as horizontal webbing marks on it. The god Viṣṇu in Fig. 66 also wears a similar *dhotī* with accentuated breech. The person in the attitude of supplication in Fig. 86 wears a *sikachh dhotī*, but the ends of the wrap appear to have been knotted on the left of the prominent abdomen with the loose ends hanging out.

TUNIC IN THE FORM OF SKIRT WORN BY A MAN

There is only one representations of a tunic worn by a man in the form of a short and close-fitting wrap around the waist. It can be seen in Fig. 75. The attire of the male in this figure is distinctive and entirely different from any other dress. The skirt is uncreased and without pleats. It is so stiff as if to appear to have been fashioned from hide and not from woven fabric. There is a buckle in the form of a flower at the centre.

UPPER GARMENTS FOR MALES

In most of the representations, the torso above the waist is undraped, but there are a few examples of upper garments or coverings too. These could be classified into the following four categories.

COAT OF MAIL

There are eight examples of coat of mail in panels in Fig. 67, 78, 84, 94, 95, 96, 149 and 156.

Madhu and Kaiṭabha who are being strangled by Viṣṇu (Fig. 67) and the same demons in Fig. 84 are dressed in coat of mail. The demons who are being similarly executed by goddess Durgā in Fig. 78 have the same upper garment. The mutilated human forms (Fig. 94, 95 and 96) also wear similar dress. The warrior or demon in Fig. 156 who is defending himself from the attack of an elephant wears a coat which comes down to below the waist. There is a V-shaped cut at the neck and the sleeves are short. The coat appears to be of heavy material and has circular markings. There is a wide belt at the waist. A similar coat is worn by the mutilated figure on the right in Fig. 149.

ASCETIC'S UPPER CREASED WRAP

This is the dress in which Buddha is usually represented and in Fig. 62 the same wrap known as *sanghāti* has been shown. The seated attendant on the right lower corner in Fig. 63 also wears the same dress.

UTTARĪYA

The young dignitary in Fig. 82 wears an *uttarīya.*

SASH, CROSSBELTS AND SACRED THREAD

Though the upper body is generally bare, some figures are shown wearing sash, cross belt or *yajñōpavīta.* These can be seen in Fig. 75, 97, 98 and 109. Rāvaṇa in Fig. 75 wears a wide sash from the left shoulder down to the right flank with circular and cross markings on it. The sash appears to be made of a thick fabric which can be hide or leather. The figure on a baluster (Fig. 97) wears double cross-belts with a buckle in the centre. On the upper part of the body in one of the panels (Fig. 98) is worn what is most probably the *yajñōpavīta* (sacred thread). The nude *gaṇā* (Fig. 109) sports a waist band made of twisted cloth. Cross belts with a buckle in the centre as the only upper garment appear to have been in extensive use in ancient India. At Bhārhut instances of such an attire were found. In one case it is worn by a woman.[1] In the other, by the first male figure on the left of the coping of the south east quadrant showing relic procession.[2] In the panel showing Śiva *Gaṇās* disturbing Dakṣa's sacrificial rites, found at Ahichchhatra one of the king's retainers at the top left is shown wearing the same cross belt.[3]

No less than 11 of the male figures carved on the outside of the Gupta temple at Deogarh wear such a decoration. These are worn by Rāma and Lakṣmana in the panel of Ahalaya-*Uddaraṇa*, by two males in *vana-gamana*, by Rāma and Lakṣmana in the panel where they visit the hermitage of sage Atrī; again by the two deities at archery ; also in the panel in which Surpanakhā is being mutilated, and in the panel in which Lakṣmana is garlanding Sugriva. In the last mentioned there is a decorated cross belt with a rosette in the centre.[4]

DRESSES OF FEMALE FIGURES

There are a total of 26 panels in which women with discernible lower garments have been represented. These can be seen in Fig. 58, 63, 65, 66, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 82, 83, 89, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 119, 120, 124, 126, 127 and 128. The lower garment is usually in the form of a wrapped skirt, tucked in at the left, with or without a central breech. Females in Fig. 58, 63, 66, 71, 72, 74, 82, 112, 114, 115, 119 and 124 are shown as wearing wrapped skirts.

Generally there is no covering for the bust except in the one example (Fig. 75) where the bust is only partially draped. Even when the scarf is shown, it passes above the breast across the shoulder and is then wraped around the arms with some length to spare.

Wrapped skirt from waist to ankles can be seen in panels illustrated in Fig. 89, 117, 120, 126 and 128. In none of these representations is the arrangement for the upper end of the wrap visible. This is in some cases due to damage and wear of the figures.

There are three panels in which the female dress is the same as described earlier but the wrapping arrangement indicates that the skirt is tucked on one side. These are illustrated in Fig. 78, 83 and 113.

In the dresses of four female figures all of them representing divinities, the skirt is wrapped separately around the two legs and then the end brought forward through the breech and tucked in at the waist with the loose end hanging out. The two legs of Pārvatī (Fig. 65) are wrapped separately but the tucking arrangement at the waist is not discernible. The diagonal pleats are prominent in Fig. 73, the two legs are wrapped individually and the length of the sheet is passed from the back to the front through the breech and then tucked in at the navel with a short end exposed and hanging out. Goddess Lakṣmī (Fig. 76) wears similar dress and the loose end hanging out at the waist can be seen. So is the dress of Durgā in Fig. 78. This would lead to the conclusion that the more respectable form of dress was *sikachhadhotī* or wrapped skirt with breech, as goddesses are invariably shown wearing this garment. The *vikachchha-dhotī* has been draped around less important figures.

A further elaboration of the *sikachchhadhotī* can be seen in the Mithuna panel in Fig. 120. Here in addition to the separate draping of the two legs, there is a semi-circular apron-like pleated spread in front provided either by a separate piece of cloth worn above the *sārī* or by using part of the spare end for this additional drapery.

In only one case (Fig. 75) has the *sārī* has been taken across the waist to drape the bust and the end of cloth thrown back at the left shoulder. This is the usual form of draping the *sārī* now.

In two panels (Fig. 116 and 127) women have been shown as wearing only a close fitting brief. Both are lay figures and are shown in informal situations. They had, it appears discarded their wrap and were surprised in the state of being only in their briefs.

WOMEN'S UPPER GARMENT

There is no representation of any sewn garment. Only scarves are partially draped across the bosom above the breasts and then wrapped around and suspended from the forearm, Scarves can be seen in Fig. 58, 73 and 76, all representations of goddesses. There is a patterned scarf hanging from the left arm of Gangā (Fig. 58) and possibly also from the right judging from the markings still visible. Goddess Durgā (Fig. 73) has a scarf, wrapped around and falling from her left arm. There are traces of a scarf on what must have been the left arm of goddess Lakṣmī (Fig. 76). All the scarves are of patterned material which appears to be thin and diaphanous.

HEAD DRESSES AND HAIR STYLES OF MEN

Most of the male figures are bare-headed. There are two definite and one doubtful representations of headgear. The rest display various hair styles. We may take up the headgears first.

Fig. 84—Viṣṇu is resting on a coil of serpents. The god is wearing a crown which has a circular crest in front with braids reaching out from both sides and joining at the top. Another short braid hangs down vertically from this junction. This is an attenuated form of the turban in which the two braids coming from opposite directions and meeting at the crest represent the twists of the cloth while the core is in the form of a close fitting cap. Specially noteworthy is the lock of hair which is shown above the right ear and below the rim of the close fitting crown. The crown worn by Viṣṇu in Fig. 72 is similar but with more copious locks of hair visible below the rim of the headgear. A simple cap is worn by the victim in Fig. 61. It has two flaps to cover the ears and has a raised central pouch to contain the tuft of hair at the top of the crown.

We come now to hair styles of male heads. There are 19 panels in which male heads are still present and some sort of hair arrangement can be seen. Of these two show bald heads (Fig. 61 one head and the head in Fig. 147). In the remaining representations three hair styles can be observed viz., (1) close-cropped hair, (2) short hair and (3) long locks.

Close cropped hair.

Hair cut close to the skin can be observed in Fig. 81, 84 and 106. The child warrior in Fig. 81 has a hair style which resembles a close fitting cap. This impression is produced by the presence of the fillet around the forehead. Madhu and Kaitabha and also Bramha in Fig. 84 have close-cropped hair.

Short hair

Short hair can be observed in Fig. 92, 98, 101, 104, 109, 110 and 148. A tuft at the crown of the head with radiating streaks can be seen in Fig. 61.

Long hair

Long hair is depicted in Fig. 68, 72, 84, 102, 103, 107, 108 and 124. Though length is a common feature each hair style is distinctive. The most elongated ringlets can be seen in Fig. 102. The face is unfortunately damaged. The nāga deity (Fig. 68) has multiple curls falling on either side of the head and a fanlike spread of short curls in the front. The beautifully preserved male figure in Fig. 103 has similar long locks, but the arrangement in the centre above the forehead leading to the parting of the locks falling on either side cannot be made out. The man in an attitude of declamation in Fig. 124 has both long and short locks falling on either side of the head. In the panel showing a young man with out-stretched hands (Fig. 107) which is excellently well preserved, there is a faint indication of a central parting and flat arrangement on the crown but circular short as well as long curls. The garland bearer (Fig. 108) has in addition to the locks, four circular ornaments on the crown, which are likely to have been fashioned from the curls. Similar rosette shaped curls can also be seen in Fig. 104.

HAIR STYLES OF WOMEN

No woman is shown as wearing any head dress but there are a number of hair styles some of which have already been mentioned in Chapter VI. These can broadly be classified into the following :

Short hair parted in the middle	—Fig. 129, 130, 132 and 133.
Honeycomb Coiffure	—Fig. 126, 134, 135, 136 and 137.
Tresses and Ringlets	—Fig. 114, 131, 138, 139 and 140.
Streaked locks with central tuft	—Fig. 115, 118, 141 and 142.
Hair dressed in feather pattern	—Fig. 128.

Each of these individual styles deserves separate notice. We may take them up in the order outlined above.

SHORT HAIR PARTED IN THE MIDDLE

There are four representations two each in the State Museum, Lucknow and on the temple. These are heads peeping out from gavākṣas. In all the examples the locks which fall on either side of the central parting reach only up to the ear. The front locks in Fig. 132 and 133 are somewhat shorter and are curled at ends.

HONEYCOMB COIFFURE

There is considerable similarity in each of the five examples. Two of these panels are fixed to the temple; the rest are in the State Museum at Lucknow. In Fig. 137 the hair is so short, frizzled and adhering to the head that it gives the impression of a close fitting cap. So is the coiffure in Fig. 136. At the hairline there is no horizontal incision to provide proof of a cap being worn. The hair is frizzled and the crinkly character starts just above the skin, as can be seen in this remarkable model in Fig. 137. The coiffure of the peeping figure in 135 is also similar. The head shown in Fig. 134 is considerably damaged, but the style is unmistakably the same except that there is a bouffon effect on either side and there is some indication of a central parting also.

The coiffure of the *mithuna* partner in Fig. 126 resembles the hair style of the maiden in Fig. 137. Unfortunately, the head in Fig. 126 is damaged and details are not clear.

TRESSES AND RINGLETS

There is only one representation (Fig. 138) of short but heavy tresses falling on either side of the head. Four of the panels have figures with tresses so long that these come down to the shoulders. The hair which is parted in the middle falls in long tresses and rests on the right shoulder of the grotesque female figure in Fig. 114. The beautiful girl in Fig. 139 has coiled locks on either side of the head reaching down to the shoulders. The tresses of the woman in Fig. 131 are not coiled but are long and reach down to the shoulders. The girl in Fig. 140 has ringlets on the right and straight combed hair on the left.

STREAKED LOCKS WITH CENTRAL TUFT

Instead of locks combed outwards from the central line or crown, these have been combed towards the centre, brought up and tied in the form of a chignon. This style is prominent in Fig. 141 and is shown also in Fig. 118. It is also the style of the hair of the standing woman in Fig. 115 now partly obliterated. A similar hair style can be seen in Fig. 142.

HAIR DRESSED IN FEATHER PATTERN

The hair style of the woman in the *mithuna* composition in Fig. 128 is distinctive. It shows the central tuft, and also minute partings of the locks with slight curls at the ends which more or less stick to the skin. This resembles a broad feather with the ends curled up.

ORNAMENTS

When examining ornaments, what strikes one forecefully is the degree of intricacy of detail introduced in clay which can be achieved only in ivory or metal.

FOREHEAD

The god Gaṇeśa (Fig. 64) wears a fillet on his forehead from which is suspended a circular convex unornamented disc with a ring at the top to which the fillet is attached.

EARRINGS

By far the largest number of representations are those of earrings which are worn both by male as well as female figures. Five of the male and 14 of the female heads are so adorned. Almost in all cases earrings are circular, plain, large and hanging so low that in many cases these rest on the shoulder of the wearer.

MALE HEADS WEARING EARRINGS

Madhu and Kaiṭabha (Fig. 84) wear large earrings, thick and broad at the bottom and somewhat tapered at the top where the ornament passes through the ear lobes. The god Viṣṇu in this panel wears on the visible right ear, an ornament which looks very much like an ear plug. The garland bearer in Fig. 108 wears heavy ear-rings. The nude *gaṇa* in Fig. 109 wears an earring which rests on the right shoulder.

WOMEN WEARING EAR ORNAMENTS

Very large and heavy earrings are worn by women in panels illustrated in Fig. 114, 129, 130, 136, 138, 139, 140, 142, 143 and 144. Somewhat smaller and more delicate earrings are worn by the woman in Fig. 118, the maiden in the mithuna composition in Fig. 126 and the heads in Fig. 135 and 137. The earrings worn by the women in Fig. 135 and 137 are somewhat elongated; in the rest these are round.

NECKLACES

The god Viṣṇu (Fig. 72) wears a necklace of beads. The central bead is long and ovoid. On the sides there are rosettes and the rest of the necklace is made up of cylindrical beads interspersed with small convex ones. Goddess Pārvati (Fig. 65) wears a most beautiful necklace of chased and perforated work. Unfortunately, the figure is badly damaged and the details have been obliterated. Goddess Durgā's (Fig. 73) *uttarīya* is in the form of a special ornament which covers the right shoulder, the chest and goes on to the left shoulder too.

A necklace of beads is worn by the woman in Fig. 118. The central bead is cylindrical and elongated while the rest are round and flattened.

MEDALS ON CHEST

Only male figures wear medals. Three examples can be seen and these are in Fig. 61, 81 and 154. The pattern is invariably the same. The medals are circular; a central boss is surrounded by spokes or points enclosed within a rim which is raised at ends.

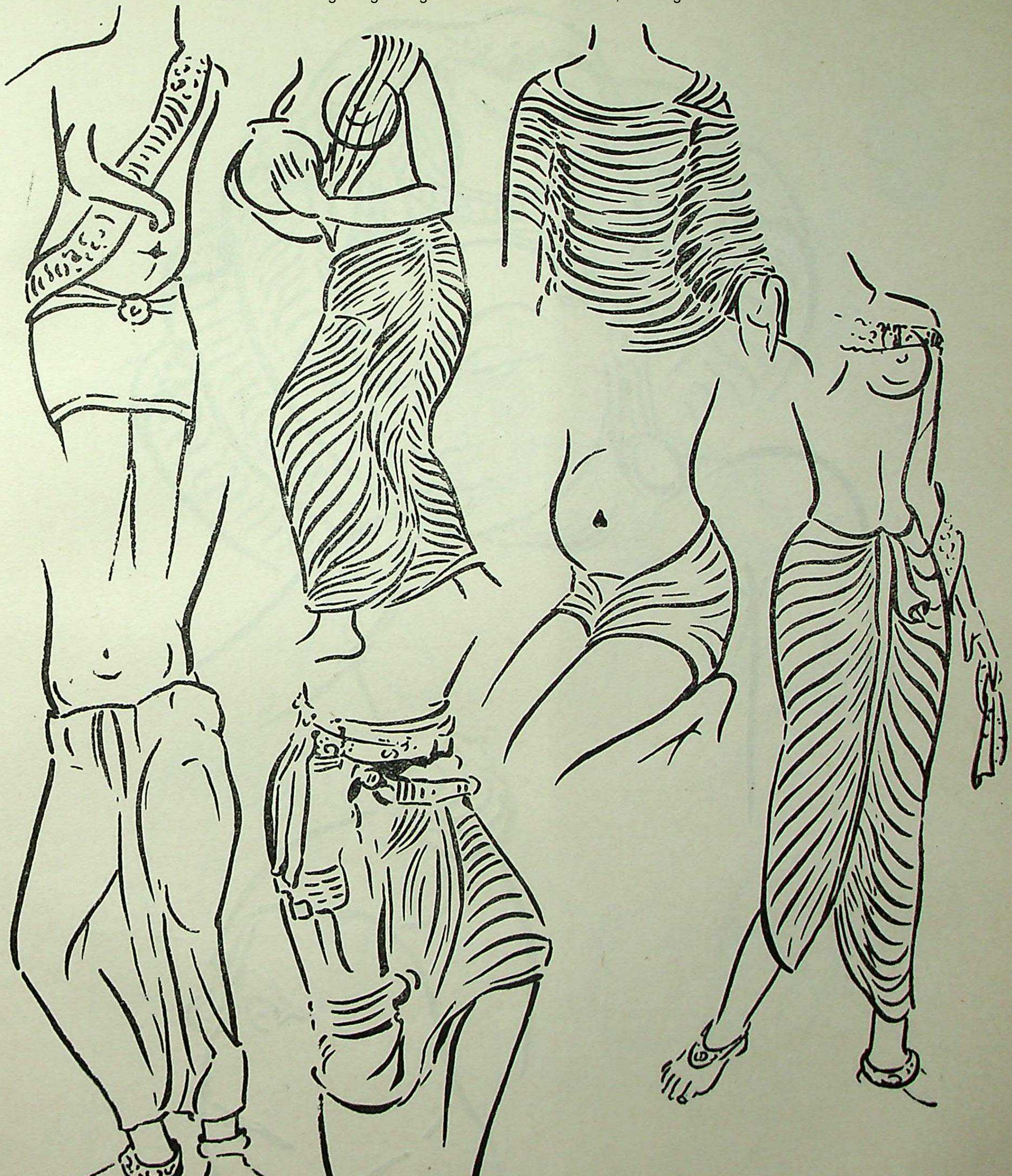
ARM BANDS

Nine male and four female figures wear armlet or armband. There are five patterns as follows :

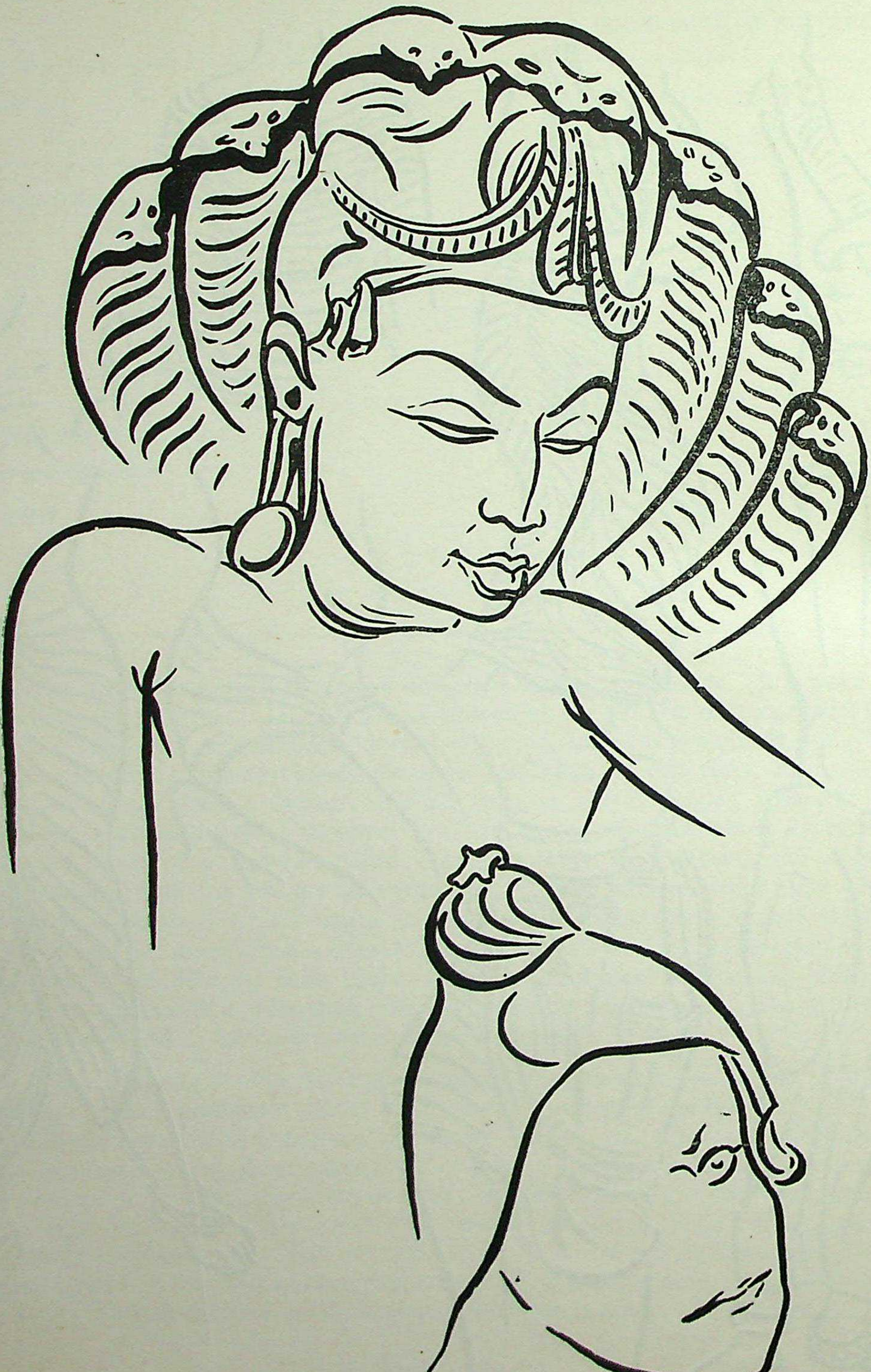
Motif	*Male figures*		*Female figures*	
	Fig.	*No. of armlets*	*Fig.*	*No. of armlets*
Trefoil or Serpent hood	66	1	58	1
	70	1		
	72	1		
	79	2		
	82	2		
	126	1		
Round with boss in centre	79	1		
Six-petalled rosette	81	1	71	1
Chased			65	1
Filigree			78	1
Total	8	10	4	4

The most common is the trefoil ornament with serpent hoods. It is worn by no less than seven figures. It can clearly be seen on the left arm of the goddess Gangā (Fig. 58). The other goddesses are adorned with more ornate armbands. Pārvatī (Fig. 65) wears an ornament with two bands, the upper band with six oval parts, each linked to the other with a delicate chain. Jewelled festoons are suspended from the upper ornament. Bhumidevī (Fig. 71) wears an armlet which is tied just above the elbow and is in the form of a rosette. There is a possibility of confusing the right arm of Bhumidevī with the left one or Varāha but here we are concerned only with the ornament. Durgā (Fig. 78) wears an armband which is not as ornate as the one in fig. 65, but has nevertheless a delicate filigree pattern. But for two exceptions all the armbands which decorate male figures are of trefoil serpent hood motif. Let us deal with the exceptions first. Balrāma (Fig. 79) wears on his left arm a round ornament with a raised boss in the centre, which loops downwards.

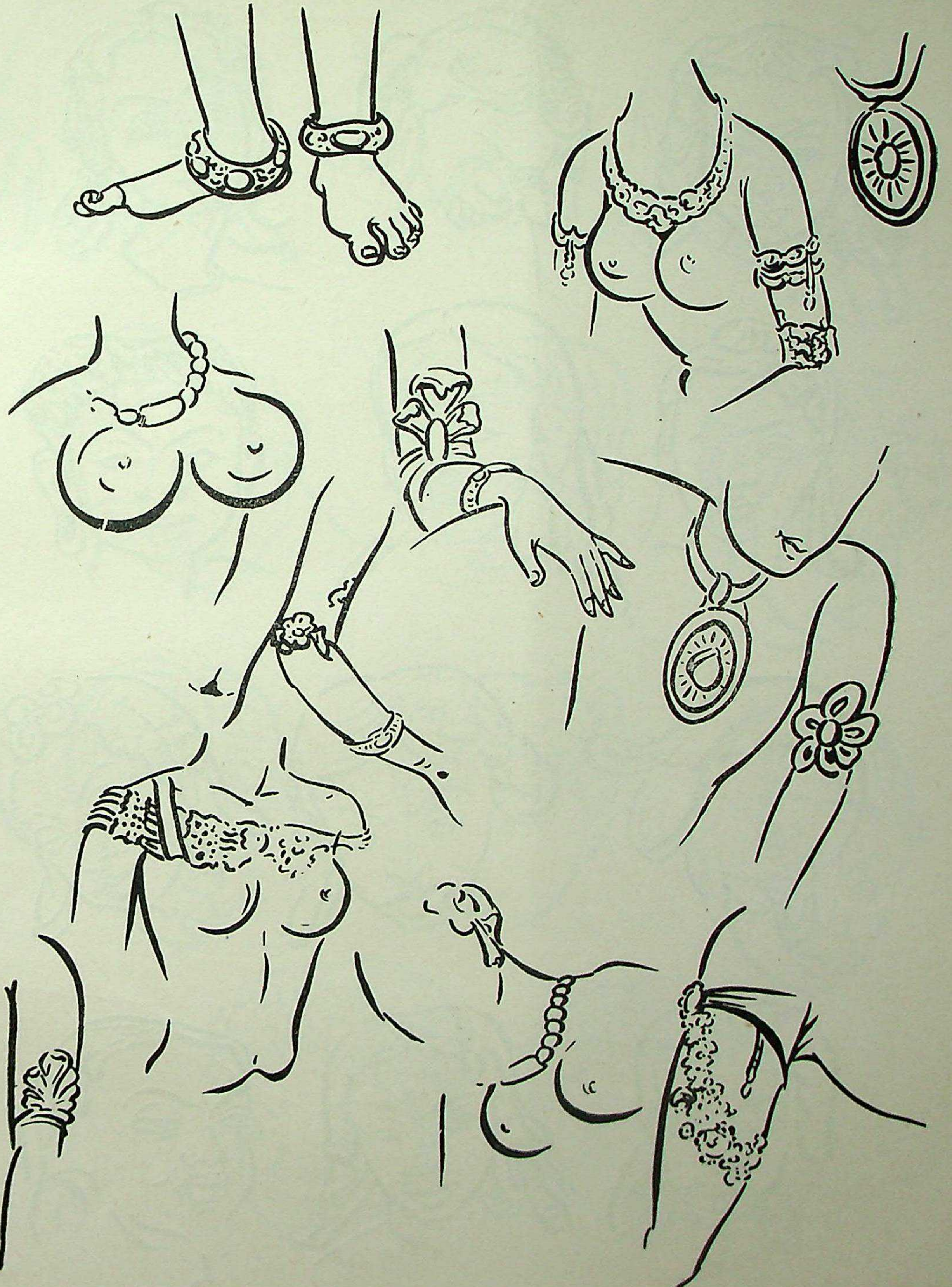
The child warrior (Fig. 81) wears an ornament with six petals, made in the form of loops, with a prominent outline in the centre. In each of the Fig. 66, 70, 72, 79, 82 and 126 elaborate trefoil ornaments are shown on the arm, the motif of which could have been derived from down-turned tips of leaves or the raised hood of a serpent. The central leaf or hood is larger than those on the sides. There are two festoons one on each side and a stem at the lower end. Minor variations in the basic pattern have however been introduced. For instance in Fig. 82, there are no festoons. The male figure in one of the mithuna compositions (Fig. 126) sports similar ornament but with two more supporting leaves. In the rest, the pattern is more or less invariable.



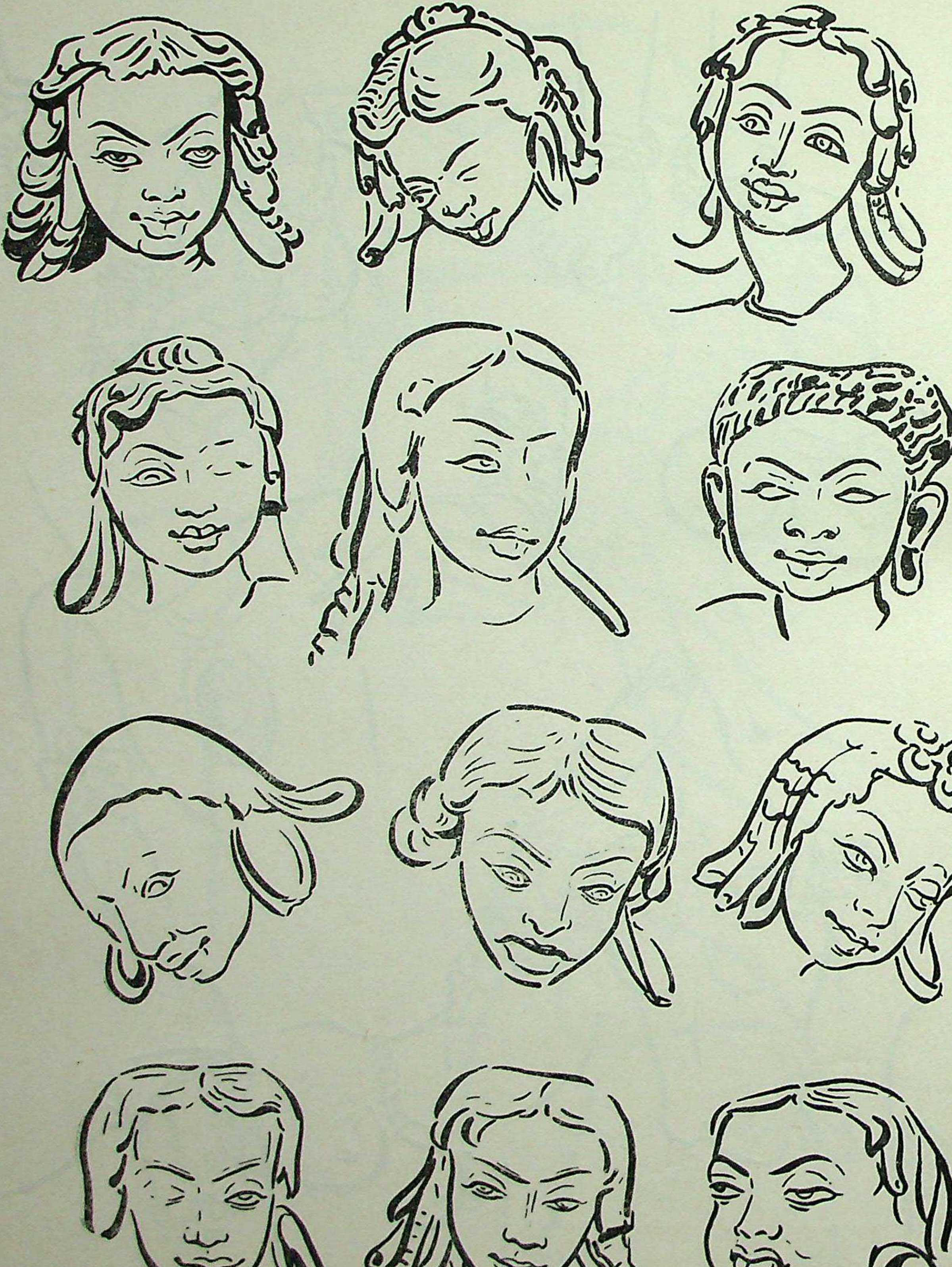
39.1. Dresses.



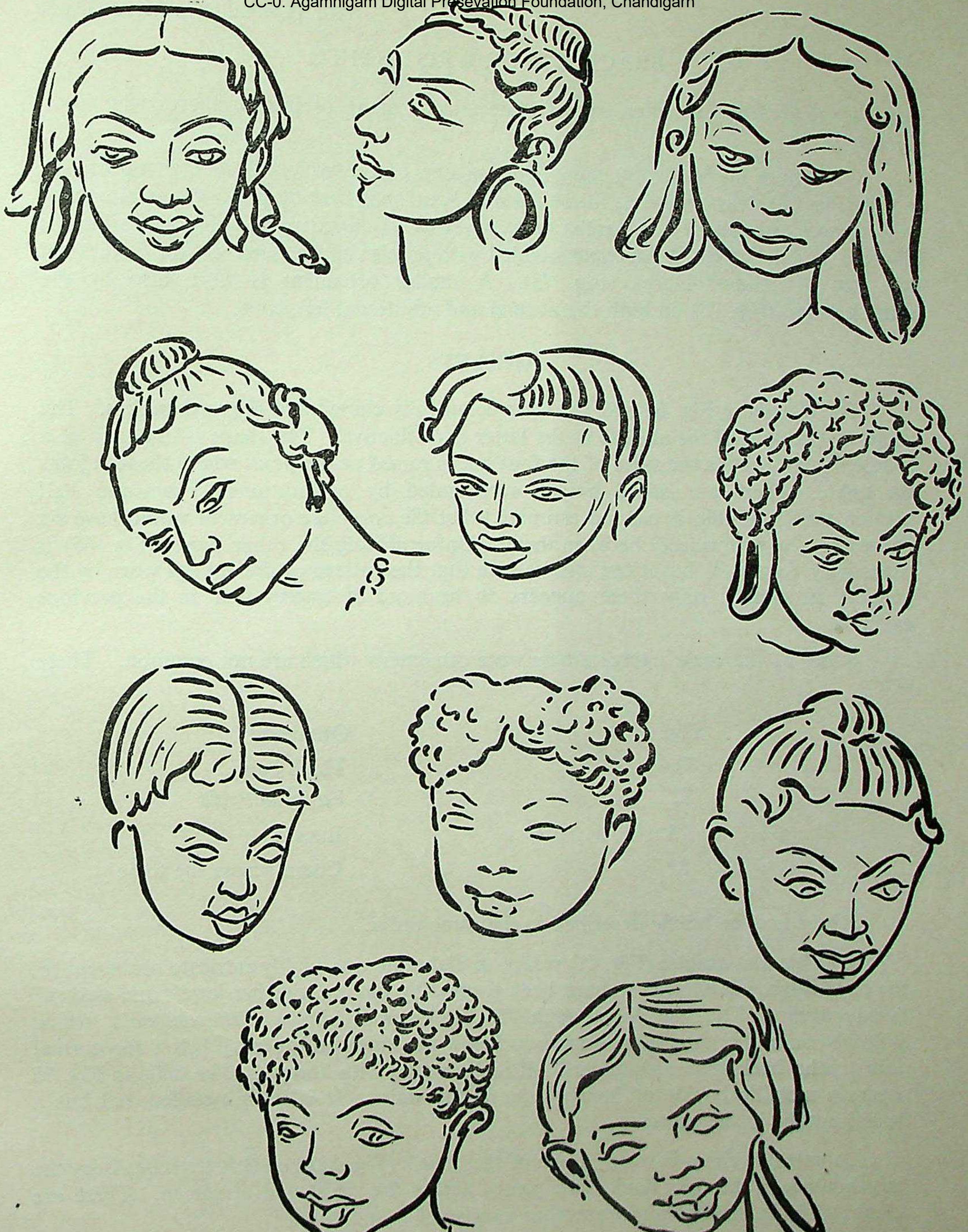
39.2. Head Dresses of Men.



39.3. Ornaments.



39.4. Hair Styles of Women.



39.5. Hair Styles of women.

BRACELETS OR WRIST BANDS

There are four examples, two of male and as many of female figures who wear bracelets.

On both of his hands, the male figure in one of the panels fixed high up on the north (Fig. 82) wears bracelets in the form of Kankanas bearing perforations alterating with bosses or cylinders. Varāha *avatāra* (Fig. 71) also wears a bracelet which is filigreed and delicate. A *Kankaṇa* studded with jewels can be seen on the additional left arm of goddess Durgā (Fig. 73). A similar ornament is worn also by the same goddess (Fig. 78) on both the normal and additional left arms.

ANKLETS

The women in Fig. 65 and 119 wear beautifully chased and filigreed anklets. The shape and pattern of the anklets in the latter is distinctive. The shape is like that of a saddle so that it hugs the sides of the foot but is raised at the point where the foot joins the ankle. There are raised bosses surrounded by perforations. From the half portion that is visible it can be estimated that the complete ornament would have six convex bosses, with tracery between them. Unfortunately the other panel (Fig. 65) is extensively damaged, but it can still be seen that the pattern of the anklets worn by the goddess is similar; only there appears to be more of tracery than in the previous example.

Some of the male figures singly wear ornaments which are not common. These are :

Fig.	Ornament
71	Thigh band
72	*Vaijayantīmalā*
75	Buckle
82	Chain across the torso

These may be briefly described in the same order.

The Varāha *avatāra* (Fig. 71) wears an elaborate and highly intricate ornament on the right thigh. It appears to have been formed by linking together jewels and studs of floral pattern. The god Viṣṇu (Fig. 72) has around him a *Vaijayantīmalā* which is draped on his left arm, comes down to below the knees and then up below the normal arm to the back of the shoulders. It is decorated with flowers. The male in Fig. 75 wears a metallic buckle of floral shape at the waist. It is multi-petalled and has a round outline in the centre.

A metallic chain is worn in one of the panels (Fig. 82) and this stretches from the left shoulder to the right flank, and passes across the chest and abdomen. There are elongated links at intervals connecting a series of round ones.

REFERENCES

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2. B. Barua, *Barhut*, Book III, Aspects of Life and Art, Calcutta, 1937, Pl. XII, Fig. 9a.
3. V.S. Agrawala, Terracotta figurines of Ahichchhatra, district Bareilly, U.P., *Ancient India* No. 4, New Delhi, 1948, Pl. LXI.
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CHAPTER X

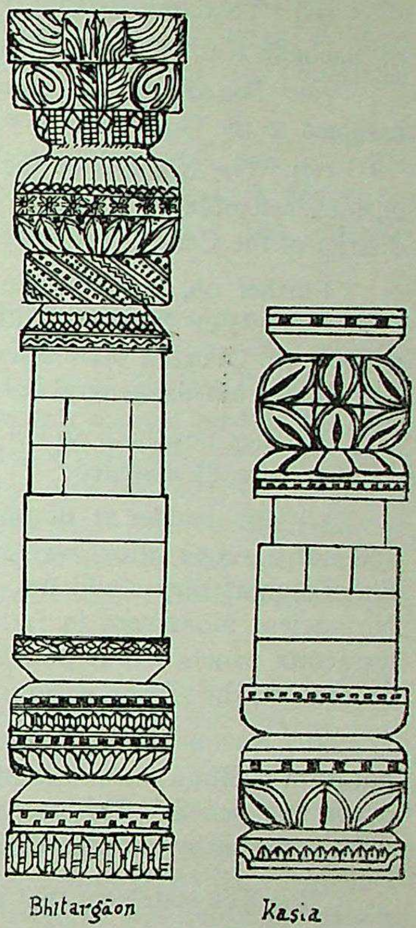
DATE OF THE TEMPLE

“In its general outline”, wrote Alexander Cunningham in 1878, “and in the arrangement of the bands of ornament and sculpture, the brick temples of Bhītargaon approaches nearer to the brick temple of Bodhgaya than to the stone temples of a later age......... “Their [the terracotta panels] execution, however, is still far superior to that of most of the existing stone temples of later period”[1]... In the same context he wrote : “But in the Bhītārgaon temple both the pointed domes and the semi-circular arches of the passages are parts of the original building. It is true that the date of this building is not absolutely known; but judging from its style it cannot, in my opinion, be placed later than the 7th or 8th century, and is probably even older”.[2]

Later on, in 1909, J.Ph. Vogel wrote :

“Cunningham, judging from the style, is of opinion that this temple cannot be placed later than the 7th or 8th century, and is probably even older. I have reason to assume that the Bhītargāon temple is at least three centuries older than the date mentioned by Cunningham. This assumption is based on the fact that the pilasters and cornices of carved bricks, which adorn the Bhītargāon temple (plate V), are very similar to those found on the oldest portion of the plinth, on which the Nirvāṇa temple of Kasiā is raised. This early plinth cannot be later than the Gupta epoch, and possibly goes back even to the Kushana period. We do not know for how long this peculiar style of carved brickwork remained in vogue, but we may safely assume that it flourished during the rule of the great Gupta emperors, *i.e.*, the 4th and 5th centuries.”[3]

It would be desirable to make a comparison of the pilasters and cornices at Bhītargāon with those to which reference was made by Vogel and which were the main bases for his reaching the conclusions that the temple at Bhītargāon was of the same age as the plinth of the Nirvāṇa temple. Not only this, he also came to the conclusion that the style represented at Kasiā may even go back to the Kuśana period. In Fig. F is a line drawing of a typical Bhītargāon pilaster on the left together with one of the pilasters from Kasiā on the right both drawn to scale. The base of the Kasiā pilaster consists of three members, each one ornamented in simple patterns. The Bhītargāon pilaster has four members all richly ornamented. The shaft of Kasiā has four courses which gives the pilaster a squat and stumpy appearance while that at Bhītargāon has six, lending the pilaster a slender grace. It is, however, in the capital that the difference is most noticeable. Kasiā has only three members, while Bhītargāon employs as many as five, all of them richly decorated. The *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* at Kasiā is without a cushion; that of Bhītargāon is more developed, has a cord motif cushion, full *Kalaśa* and rim. Kasiā has no abacus and the cornice starts just above the capital; Bhītargāon has an abacus in two tiers decorated with acanthus motif. The Bhītargāon order is elaborate, well balanced, more developed with greater sophistication and better proportions. The Kasiā order appears to be still in the experimental stage and must have preceded Bhītargāon. But, it is as ture today as it was 70 years ago that there is no greater affinity of Bhītargāon pilasters with any others so far discovered than with those of Kasiā. In this, the judgment of Vogel was indeed prophetic. One marvels at such deep insight amounting almost to infallible intuition. Let us come now to the cornices. As we have already discussed in part 2 of Chapter IV the upper cornice in Kasiā has two and the lower one in Bhītargāon has three courses. The two courses of Kasiā are identical with the third and second courses of the cornice at Bhītargāon.



F. Pilaster from Bhitargāon and Kasia compared.

Writing about 25 years after Vogel, R.D. Banerji made certain observations.[4] These have been quoted below but while the words of the text are the same, each sentence has been given a number for facility of subsequent reference. The numbering is thus ours.

(*i*) "The exterior walls of this temple were decorated with terracotta panels in niches, proving that it did not belong to the type of sancta at Bhumara or Nachna Kuthara."

(*ii*) "Moreover there is a *Śikhara* in which there is a series of arches which are not exactly caitya windows."

(*iii*) "The plinth mouldings are totally absent proving the difference between it and the temples at Nachna Kuthara and Bhumara."

(*iv*) "Therefore its affinity lies more with the temple at Deogadh than with those of Nachana Kuthara and Bhumara because of the presence of the stumpy *Śikhara.*"

(*v*) "The art of the terracotta panels of the Bhītargāon temple have (*sic*) been assigned to the Gupta period without sufficient reasons".

(*vi*) "The *Śikhara* of the Bhītargāon temple and its decorative motifs bear a curious resemblance to those of the temple of the Somavamśī kings in the Raipur district of the Central Provinces."

Further on, in the same book, Banerji dates the temple at Bhumarā and the earlier temple at Nachnā Kutharā between 319 and 550 A.D.,[5] and assigns A.D. 551 to 605 to Deogarh.[6] He does not mention the date of the temples at Kharōd in Sirpur and Rāipur but the general consensus is that they belong to the 10th century A.D.[7]

We may now take up the observations of Banerji one by one in the serial order of numbers already assigned.

(*i*) The temples at Bhumarā as well as at Nachnā Kutharā were built of stone and not a single brick was used. It is, therefore, unfair to compare them with Bhītargāon as they could not possibly have been embellished with terracotta panels. No ancient monument in India built entirely of stone has any decorations by way of terracotta panels. It is possible for a brick building to have made use of stone for decoration; the reverse is not true.

(*ii*) As any photograph will show, let alone a visit to the site, the *Śikhara* does not form itself on the arches of the *gavākṣas*; these false windows are the frames of the decorative panels. The shape of the niches is semi-circular. It is difficult to follow what is meant by not regarding the niches as apsidal when they are manifestly so.

(*iii*) The statement that plinth mouldings are absent is incorrect. This observation appears to have been based on a fleeting glance at one of the photographs taken between 1900 and 1907 when the plinth was still covered with debris. Earlier photographs taken in 1877 and those taken later on, in 1909 show that plinth mouldings did exist and in fact exists down to this day. The plinth is fairly high being 1.49 m above ground level.

(*iv*) The total height of the temple is 15.41 m, the plinth is 1.49 m and the body 4.11 m in height. The *Śikhara* is 9.81 m high, which is more than double the height of the body. Consequently the *Śikhara* is not at all stumpy.

(*v*) No comparative terracotta panels in central North India are known outside the Gupta period. The evidence which did exist in 1933 and which has further been augmented now leaves no room for doubt that the panels and ornamented bricks are similar to those used in the Gupta period.

(*vi*) This contradicts the observation made in (*iv*) about the *śikhara* being stumpy. The temples in Raipur do not have stumpy *śikharas*. On the other hand, we have amply demonstrated that the Central Indian temples have no resemblance with the shrine at Bhītargāon.

This digression was unavoidable in order to dispel wrong notions arising from inadequately informed and unscientific evaluation. Without any preconceived bias about the date of the temple we may now proceed to determine it from the available independent sources of evidence.

Comparison of the architecture of the Bhītargāon temple with that of other monuments is impossible as there are no other comparable surviving brick structures. We have already observed the difference between the Bhītargāon temple and those of Sirpur, Kharōd and Tēr.

Another alternative is to make a comparison with other contemporary monuments such as the Viṣṇu temple at Tigowa, Narasimha and other shrines at Erān, temple No. 17 at Sānchī, the Śiva temple at Bhumāra, that of Pārvatī at Nachnā Kutharā, and the temple in Deogarh. These are all built in stone, have a pillared portico and, but for Deogarh, had flat roofs.[8] The only point of resemblance with the Deogarh temple is the existence of a *śikhara* which in the case of the latter was comparatively speaking much shorter. The facets of the recesses at Bhītargāon are also deeper than at Deogarh. The latter had four pillared porticos and an equal number of corner shrines, another notable difference. But, and this is the most important, all these temples were built in stone and not in brick.

Consequently, we have to conclude that the temple at Bhītargāon is unique in the sense that it is not preceded by similar temples or earlier forms of the *Śikhara.*

One could suggest that the Bhītargāon temple may be later than the Gupta period which for purposes of art is supposed to extend to 600 A.D.[9] But the existence of ornamented bricks and terracotta panels is enough to refute any such suggestion. For no ornamented bricks of comparative merit have been found anywhere which may date later than the sixth century A.D. Excluding the architectural features of the temple for the purpose of comparative analysis the other avenues of approach that suggest themselves are the examination of iconographic conventions, the stylistic characteristics of the terracotta panels, the dresses and ornaments represented in the sculpture, and the motifs used on bricks and pilasters. We shall take up these items in the same order.

ICONOGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS

We have already observed that Gaṇeśa in Fig. 64 and 85 wears no crown. This is a feature which exists only in the very early representations of this god and never occurs after the 5th century A.D. in northern India. Mention has also been made of a comparable uncrowned Gaṇeśa relief in stone from Bhumarā which by general consensus has been assigned to the fifth century A.D.[10]

On one of the fragments of the superstructure of the temple of Bhumarā, which again is of the same period, there is the figure of uncrowned Gaṇeśa in the form of a *gaṇa.*[11]

It has also been noticed earlier that Viṣṇu is adorned with a *Vaijayantīmāla* as observed in Fig. 72. This is a feature of early and pre-medieval sculpture.

The Varāha figure in panel W.1.2 has a small face in comparison to a large and powerful body and bears a strong resemblance to the representation at Udaigiri which is dated between A.D. 382 and 401.[12] Bramhā is shown with a single head, an exceptional feature in itself with probably no other parallel in ancient sculpture. It has invariably been found that in earlier representations dating to the Śunga or Kuśāna period there was a tendency towards simplification of limbs, jewelery and also weapons and attributes. In Fig. 84 Viṣṇu is shown without any jewellery or elaborate crown and even without a lower garment which indicates that the representation must be very early.

The very close resemblance between the stone composition found from Nachanā Kutharā, of Sītā offering alms to Rāvana who was disguised as a mendicant is also a pointer to the representation in Fig. 75 being of a period contemporary with that of Nachnā Kutharā which is regarded to be early Gupta.[13]

STYLISTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF TERRACOTTA PANELS

Terracotta compositions used for architectural decoration on the Lakṣmana and Viṣṇu temples at Sirpur in district Raipur bear no resemblance to the self-contained terracotta panels of Bhītargāon and other sites. The temple of Lakhaneśwara at Kharod in Bilaspur can also be similarly differentiated. The same holds good also for the temple at Ter in Naldrug. For purposes, therefore, of establishing the date of the Bhītargāon temple these monuments cannot provide any frame of reference.

Of the other sites at which terracotta panels were discovered and which have been published the examples from Dehparbatiyā, Medhat Gokul, Keśhorayāpatanā, Newal, Bārehāt and Chandausī are very limited since only one panel from each of these sites has been published and these have been considered in Chapter VII. It would, therefore, not be advisable to seek for any similarity between these isolated examples and the terracotta art of Bhītargāon. We are thus left with ten individual or cluster of sites from where more than one example has been published and which have also yielded panels which constitute self-contained thematic compositions. These last could be divided into two classes, namely, (1) those which are at a considerable distance from Bhītargāon, and (2) those who are comparatively near. Of the former are the sites of Pahārpur, Mahāsthān, the complex of sites in Rajasthān, at Sūratgarh, Badopāl, Rangmahāl, Bikaner and Nagarī and Mīrpurkhās. Of these, the site of Mīrpurkhās is no doubt one of the older ones, while those of Pahārpur, Mahasthān and the four sites close to each other in Rajasthan as well as Nagarī in Chitorgarh are much later belonging most probably to the eighth century A.D. or even later. Mīrpurkhās being far away could not be expected to exert any significant influence on the terracotta art of north central India. In view of the geographical distance therefore, it has to be accepted that no similarities between the art of Bhītargāon and that of Mīrpur Khās can be expected. Paharpur is admittedly much later belonging to the eighth century A.D. Judging from the standards of the achievement of the early Gupta period, we have already seen that out of no less than 237 illustrations only 17 are of appreciable quality and even out of these only six are of artistic merit equal to that of Bhītargāon. Assuming that the published examples represent a random sample, only three percent of the panels could be regarded as being equivalent in workmanship and artistic merit to those of the early Gupta period. An oblique conclusion could be drawn that the art of Pahārpur is not as good as that of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. as exemplified by instances from Ahichchhatra, Śrāvastī, Kasiā, Mathurā and Bhītargāon.

The rest of the sites are those which are within 500 km. of Bhītargāon and these are Mathura, Ahichchhatra, Śrāvastī, Kasiā and Kumrahār. These sites belong admittedly to the early and middle Gupta periods and we have already noticed a considerable similarity between not only the subjects but the treatment as well as the technique employed for the production of terracotta panels at these areas with that of Bhītargāon. Of these, the specimens of Mathura and Ahichchhatra are the very best and considerable similarity between these as well as the panels of Bhītargāon exists. The same is also true of Kasiā. The panels of Śrāvastī, however, do not merit comparison as they do not reach the same degree of excellence. In the case of Kumrahār, most of the representations are of indifferent workmanship but some are good and equivalent to that of Bhītargāon. The facial characteristics and features of the representations of Ahichchhatra as well as Mathurā bear a considerable degree of resemblance to those at Bhītargāon. The degree of attention to detail and faithful representation of anatomy which is found in the terracottas of Bhītargāon is echoed in the representation from these sites also. It can therefore be safely concluded that the artistic conventions used at Bhītargāon are similar to those of these sites. There is consequently adequate ground to conclude that there cannot be much disparity between the periods of these sites and that of Bhītargāon. It would however be hazarduous to make specific assumptions on the basis of the evidence of the panels alone. When we come to other sources of evidence it may be possible to arrive at more concrete conclusions.

DRESSES AND ORNAMENTS REPRESENTED IN THE SCULPTURE

The main features of the head gear worn by Viṣṇu in Fig. 84 and also Fig. 72, are the stiff circular crest in front supported by two curved braids one on each side and a shorter central one which is suspended in the form of a tassel.

Though no identical representations could be found elsewhere, head gear answering broadly to these characteristics was common in the pre-Gupta period and numerous examples dating back to the Sunga and Kuśāna periods have been found.

The flywhisk bearer in the Mathura Museum (Museum No. 00.I 15) dated to the 2nd century B.C. wears a similar head dress.[14] It is also very interesting to note that even though this figure comes from Mathura which is far removed from Bhārhut, it has the same armlet as the one on a railing pillar in Bhārhut illustrated in Pl. 35, a, by Zimmer[15] and in Pl. XLIX, 18 or Cunningham's book on Bhārhut.[16]

The *yakṣa* carrying a club in the Mathura Museum (Museum No. 00.118) also dated to the 2nd century B.C. wears a similar crown.[17] The figure of a youthful and elegant prince in the same museum (Museum No. 00.E7) holding a staff in his left hand dated to the 1st century B.C. has a head gear which has the same characteristics as observed in Viṣṇu's crown in Bhītargāon.[18]

In cave 10 of Ajantā, in the representation of the *Ṣaddanta Jataka*, the figures of the hunter as well as the Raja of Kaṣī wear head-gear which is composed of braids and a central crest.[19] These were painted in the 1st century B.C. At Bhārhut there are numerous such examples, illustrated in Cunningham's monograph on Bhārhut. The king of the Nāgas wears such a crown; so does a *Yakṣa* and no less than three representations on medallions.[20] The balustrade reliefs at the same site dating back to the 1st century A.D. as also the panels of the Ajataśatru pillar have numerous such examples.[21]

In the figures illustrating costumes upto 1st century B.C. in a recently published book by Moti Chandra, Fig. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 26, 28 and 34 show the same frontal plaque with braids attached to it.[22] Unfortunately individual figures have not been identified with the sites or representations from which these have been drawn. Direct reference to the reproductions on which these are based cannot therefore be made.

The figure of Kārtikeya in the Mathurā Museum (Museum No. 42.2949) which is dated 89 A.D. in the inscription on the image wears a similar crown.[23]

In the sculptural composition of Kubera and Hāritī in Mathurā dating to the 2nd century A.D. (Museum No. 33.2.329) Kubera wears a similar head gear.[24] The crown of the figure of Bodhīsatva of the 2nd century A.D. from Kankālītīla (Museum No. 14.485) incorporates the same features.[25]

In the State Museum Lucknow (Museum No. S.758) there is a figure of Balarāma which is dated to the 2nd century A.D. who sports a similar crown.[26] It has a large frontal plaque with braids on sides but no tassel in front.

In Moti Chandra's book, in the drawings illustrating costumes from the 1st century A.D. to the beginning of the 4th century A.D., the heagear in Fig. 3, 7, 8, 16, 29 and 57 have the same characteristics. These illustrations are evidently from paintings and sculptures of the Kuśana and early Gupta periods.[27] The donor standing second from the left in the *chaitya* hall verandah of Cave No. 3 at Kanheri, which is dated to the 2nd century A.D. wears a turban which has the same basic features viz., the circular plaque or knob at the top with crossbraids below.[28] On one of the railing pillars excavated from Kankālītīla in Mathura a similar head-gear is shown.[29] It has a central fan-shaped plaque which is supported by four braids on either sides.[30] These bands are held together in the centre by two narrow vertical bands one at each end where the braids are gathered. This is dated to the Kuśhāna period in the 2nd century A.D.

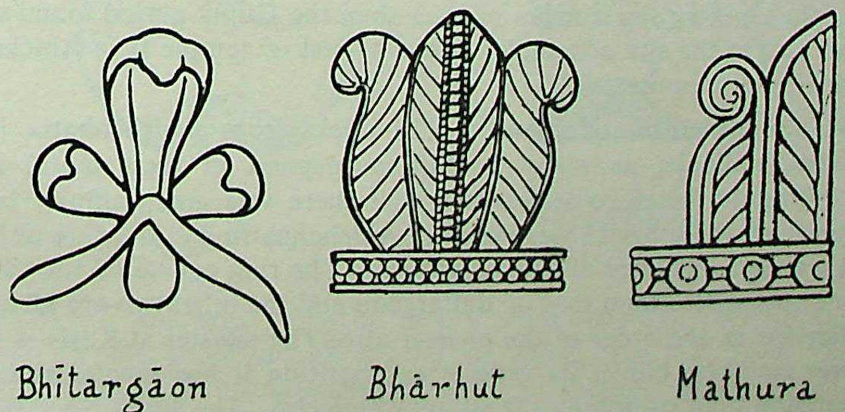
Chapter III of Moti Chandra's book deals with costumes of the Gupta period.[31] Now, we find that the fashion in hats is completely changed. The round crest or plaque disappears altogether, and the head-gear becomes conical, elongated and is more jewelled and ornamented. Of more than a hundred illustrations of head gears not one conforms to the basic structure of the one of Viṣṇu in Fig. 84, or even to the numerous pre-Gupta examples.[32] However, after some search only two exceptions were discovered, one from Allahabad and another from Mathurā. The image of standing Viṣṇu, found in Jhusī, Allahabad in Uttar Pradesh has a crown with a close resemblance to the one in Fig. 84. However, in this the central plaque is less prominent. This is regarded to date from early 5th century A.D.[33]

The Varāha-Narasimha Viṣṇu at Mathura (Museum No. 42-43.2989) assigned to the 6th century A.D. has some features of the earlier head-gear but it has become much more elaborate now with supporting walls on the crown.[34] The head-gear of Viṣṇu shown in Fig. 84 is definitely an early stage in the evolution between the one of the 2nd century B.C. and that of the 6th century A.D. and appears in view of the overwhelming evidence of its similarity to the earlier examples to be much closer to Kuṣāna and pre-Kuṣāna periods than to the developed Gupta style.

The stiff skirt worn by the male figure in Fig. 75 has a strong resemblance to the dress in a stone sculpture from Nachnā Kutharā which has been assigned to the fifth century. A.D.[35]

The cross belt with buckle observed in Fig. 97 was in use in the Śunga period as also in the early Gupta period as we have already noticed in Chapter IX. This provides corroborative evidence for the proposition that the representations at Bhītargāon were contemporary with early Gupta and pre-Gupta sculpture.

Special attention is also deserved by the trefoil ornament of which no less than nine illustrations have been found on the arms of various figures in Bhītargāon. The detail from the ornament on the remnant of the arm in Fig. 70, is illustrated in Fig. H. There are unmistakably three serpent hoods, two festoons and a stem below. This



G. Trefoil motif from Bhītargāon, Bharhut and Mathura.

ornament was uncommon as armband and only two examples could be traced : (i) Joint band on two arms on a railing pillar in Bhārhut,[36] (ii) Ornament on arm of a fly-whisk bearer of the 2nd century B.C. in the Mathura Museum[37] (Museum No. 00.115). Both are almost identical as would appear from the inset drawing of these as compared to the one from Bhītargāon. These do not however correspond to the motif of serpent hood. It is again difficult to explain how a motif which was used in Mathurā in the 2nd century B.C. and in Bhārhut in the 1st century B.C. was used in Kanpur many centuries later, with hardly any other example in between.

In a survey made of trefoil armlet by Davidson some years ago, he observed that it was common at Bharhut, but rare at Sanchi. He says "An extensive search in India has failed to uncover a single example of the trefoil armlet that can be dated justifiably later than those tornas" [of Sanchi][38]. It is obvious that this writer was not aware of the frequent use of this ornament in its most unique and quaint form at Bhītargāon. Simultaneously this establishes the affinity of this ornament and by inference the art of Bhītargāon with the pre-Gupta period.

MOTIFS USED ON BRICKS AND PILASTERS

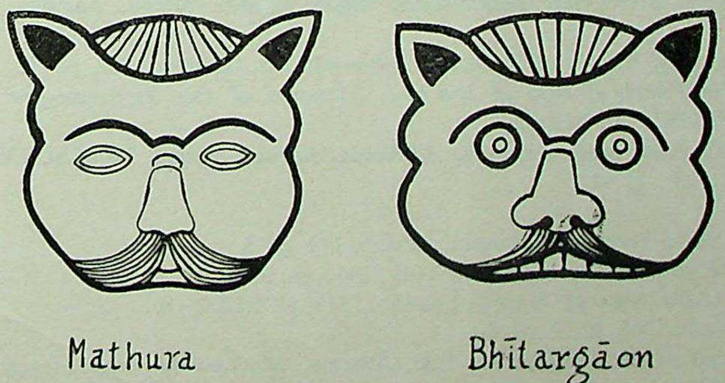
In Chapter III we have considered in some detail the motifs of decorative bricks found at other sites and have compared them with those of Bhītargāon. To a large extent the key to the determination of the age of the temple lies in the analysis of the ornamental bricks used in mouldings, ring courses and pilasters. We have observed that even though, for about three quarters of a century the temple at Sīrpur and Kharōd in Raipur and Ter in Naldrug have by association been mentioned with that of Bhītargāon there is little or no resemblance between the style and use of bricks at these temples and at Bhītargāon. One need not go far. At Paraulī which is only four kilometres from Bhītargāon the bricks as well as their use is similar to that of the temples in central India, and this marks it out as greatly removed in date from Bhītargāon. The decorative bricks found from Sūratgarh, Rangmahāl, Badopāl are complex in design and do not contain the same simple geometrical patterns as those of Bhītargāon. It appears however that the progressive use of complexity in bricks was more or less uniform all over the country since bricks of later than the Gupta period found at Rāmbhar in Deoria and also at the site of temple V, south-west of temple II in Ahichchhatra are invested with similar complexities.

We have found that out of a total of 120 bricks from Ahichchhatra illustrations of which were available, as many as 113 correspond in their motifs to those of Bhītargāon. It could therefore be assumed that there was great affinity between the period during which these bricks were used in Ahichchhatra and the date of Bhītargāon. From Kasiā we have evidence of similar nature. The ring course of the Stūpa 14 at Kasiā has one course less than that of Bhītargāon and the other two are identical. There is some difference in the order of the pilaster also. The pilaster at Kasia is stunted and contains fewer members but in its general composition it has greater resemblance to that of Bhītargāon than to pilasters from anywhere else. The stupa No. 136 of Sarnath has a cornice which has a ring course of decorative bricks which correspond exactly with those of Kasia with only the reversal of the courses of bricks and should therefore be regarded as contemporary with Kasiā. It is not intended to enter into any discussion with regard to the date of *stūpa* 136 of Sarnath but if *stūpa* No. 14 of Kasiā is pre-Gupta, then *stūpa* No. 136 of Sarnath is also pre-Gupta though it has been regarded as belonging to the Gupta period. Of 35 decorative bricks from Sārnāth which are recorded in illustrations, as many as 24 bear similarity with those of Bhītargāon. In the case of Śrāvastī, three lots of bricks have been documented making a total of 17 out of which 11 bricks resemble those of Bhītargāon. The number of decorative bricks from Bhitarī is very small only four samples being available. However each one of these four has counterparts at Bhītargāon. The monument at Bhītarī from where these have been recovered is firmly dated between A.D. 455 and 467 on the basis of an inscription.[39]

It has been observed that acanthus was used extensively in Devinīmorī for which a definite date has been established, the fourth century A.D.[40] Similar motifs have been used with almost no variation in Bhītargāon also. Both the schools appear to have adopted the same Greek pattern directly and there was no change resulting from the influence of indigenous genius in Bhītargāon. This leads to the conclusion that the two schools were either contemporaneous or not far removed in time.

The representation of the lotus disc with two concentric circles of lotus petals showing also short inter-leaves appears to be a very old decorative device which existed even in the 1st and 2nd centuries B.C. and numerous examples have been found from the Śunga period. The disc of lotus petals at Bhītargāon bears considerable resemblance to those from Bhārhut.[41]

There are certain motifs which were in use for hundreds of years in ancient India and a certain degree of uniformity in the evolutionary stages can be observed in a given epoch over a wide area. One of these is the *Kīrtimukha*. We have no less than three examples of this motif at Bhītargāon of which one has been illustrated in Fig. H. The *Kīrtimukha* representations in the Mathura Museum cover a wide range of periods and a few have been published. Three typical examples have



Mathura

Bhītargāon

H. Kirtimukha.

been illustrated, one of the 2nd century A.D., another of the 5th century A.D. and the third of the 11th century A.D.[42] As the comparative line drawings reproduced in Fig. G here will show, the *Kīrtimukha* of Bhītargāon has a closer affinity with the representation at Mathura dated to the 2nd century A.D. The form of the *Kīrtimukha* in subsequent centuries became more baroque and stylised.

The conclusions reached by J.C. Harle in his book on Gupta Sculpture with regard to the age of the temple may in this context be mentioned. He is of the view that it was "unlikely that the temple dates from much after A.D. 425 and considering its position in the heart of the *Doab*, it may considerably earlier".[43] He further observes that "a date of A.D. 450 would seem to be the latest for this temple".[44]

To sum up, the evidence points to the conclusion that the temple of Bhītargāon is not later than 5th *C*. A.D. On the other hand in view of the factors discussed already and close affinities with pre-Gupta artistic traditions it may be even older.

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INDEX

A

Abacus, Pilasters, of, 32
Abhinananda, 87
Adroit, figures, modelling of, 134
Agrawala, V.S., 67, 113, 114, 139, 159
Agrawala, R.C., 114, 139, 171
Ahichchhatra, 46, 49, 50, 57, 58, 65, 125, 132, 165; Ganga and Yamuna from, 115; illustration of bricks from, 57; Site V, South West of A.C. II, 66
Ajanta 166
Allahabad Museum, panel from Chandausi, 126
Altekar, A.S., 50, 67, 139
Amlaka, 17, 25, 26
Anklets, female figures, of, 158
Anand, Mulk Raj, 21, 28, 114, 140
Anatomical balance, figures of, 132
Anatomical proportions, animal figures of, 133
Arrangement and Sequence, terracotta panels of, 68-82
Archer, 70
Ardhamandapa, 19, 75
Argal, Gautam Rajas of, 2
Arind, or Rind river, 2
Armband, as ornament, 152
Artistic Excellence, jeweller's art, equivalence to, in panels, 137
Ascetic, panel representing, 70
Asiatic Society of Bengal, Proceedings of, for 1888, 140
Auboyer, J., 139, 140
Āyuddhapurusas, 132

B

Badopāl, 46, 66, 122, 132, 164
Bahadurgarh Etah, 131
Bahua, 24
Balrama, 85, 122, 142, 166
Balusters, ring course, in, 43
Banaras Hindu University, 61
Banerji, R.D., 44, 114, 139; misconceptions in description by, 161-163, 170
Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad, 2
Barehāt, panel from, 124, 164
Barīgaon, village of, 2
Barrel roof, erroneous conjecture of, 26
Barua, B., 159
Behta, temple of, 20, 21; images of Śiva, Pārvatī, Śesaṣāyī Viṣṇu, Lakṣmaṇa, and Gaṇeśa in, 20
Bhadeonā, temple of, 2
Bhadra Kali Theri, ornamental bricks from, 47
Bhandarkar, D.R., 139
Bhārhut, 166, 169
Bhītargāon, temple of, ardhamandapa, 19-20; ceiling, 25; cornices, 23; decorative bricks, 42-44; discovery of, 2; foundations, 15; garbhagrha, 22; general description of, 15-27; height of, 26; measured drawings of, 8-12; measurements of, 17-18; panels published earlier, 129-131; passage into sanctum, 20-22; pilasters, 29-42; plan, 15; porch, 18; protection under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 5; recessing, 16; roofs, 25; route to, 1; tiers of panels, 70-82; vertical measurements of, 27; walls, 23

Bhitarī, 45, 49, 50, 61, 65, 169; illustration of carved bricks from, 64
Bijaura temple of, 142
Bikaner, terracotta from, 132, 164
Bilaspur, 46
Bilsar, 45
Birds, representation of, 111
Birsinghpur, 2
Bloch, T., 67
Bracelets, item of ornament of figures in panels, 158
Bramha single-faced, 94
Bramhastra, 90
British Government, 2
Brown, Percy, 25, 26, 28, 170
Buddha, incarnation of Viṣṇu as, 85
Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P., 6

C

Capital, pilasters of, 31
Cawnpore (Kanpur) District, Gazetteer of, 6
Chakrapuruṣa, 88, 89, 132
Chandausi, panel from, in Allahabad Museum, 126, 164
Chandra, Pramod, 170, 171
Chanura, 85
Chowdhary, S.N., 67, 171
Cleft-hoofed animal, man riding on, 73
Coat of mail, worn by demons, 145, 146
Comparison, ornamental bricks of, with other sites, 45-66
Composition of reliefs on panels, harmonious and compact, 133
Configurations in mithuna compositions, 136
Coomaraswamy, A.K., 28, 114, 170
Corbel, Corbelling, 21
Cornice, first, 23
Cousens, Henry, 44, 67, 114
Craftsmanship, refinement in, 137 ff.
Crocodile, man being devoured by, 72
Crossbelt as upper garment for men, 146
Cunningham, A., 2, 3, 5-7, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 44, 45, 66, 67, 82, 83, 93, 114, 131, 139, 160, 170

D

Date, Cunningham's estimate, 160; Harle, according to, 170; temple of, 160-170; Vogel's view, 160
Davidson, J.L., 168
Decoration outer, on walls, 23
Dehparbatiya 119, 131, 164
Detail, intricate in minute decoration 136, ff.
Deva, K., 67
Deval, 2
Devnimori, 48, 49; acanthus motif from, compared, 119
Dharampur, village of, 1
Dharmaputra and Jayadharati, panel of, from Ahichchhatra, 126
Dikshit, K.N., 67, 139
Dikshit, Moreshwar, G., 51, 67
Dresses of figures in panels, 144-147; and ornaments as criteria for dating, 165; female figures of, 146-148; illustrated, 153
Durga, 70, 132, destroying demons, 78, 92, 141, 142

E

Errings, 150
East India Company, 2
Encyclopaedia Brittanica, 27
Exhibition, Catelogue of terracotta, State Museum Lucknow, 139
Extrados, of arch, 21, 22

F

Facial expression, variety of, 134
Farrukhabad, 2
Farrukhabad, Pakna Bihar, in, 49
Features, architectural, levels of, 26, 27
Female figures, in panels, 98-100
Fighting birds, 112
Floral art, mastery in, 138
Foliated human figures, 73
Foliations, abstract, 111, 113
Führer, 58

G

Gadadevi, 88, 89, 132
Gajalakṣmi, 70, 91; at Sanchi, Bharhut, Udayagiri, Mahaballipuram, Amarawati, Bodhgaya, Bhita, 91
Gajasurasamhamurti, 86
Gaṇa, 72, 96,
Gandhara, 49
Gaṇesa, 4, 70, 141; with platter of sweets, 94;

without crown, 86, 163
Ganga as river goddess, 70, 84-85, 132, 133, 141, 142
Garbhagṛha, temple of, 22
Garde, M.B., 139
Garhwa, 45
Gautama Rajas, Argalof, 2
Gavakṣas 24, 77, 80
Ghatampur, 1
Ghosh, A., 50, 67
Ghulam Mohammad, draftsman, 6
Gokul, Medhat, 164
Golish, Vitold de, 114
Grand Trunk Road, 1, 2
Gupte, R.S., 114, 140

H

Hair styles, 148-150
Hair styles, female heads, classified by, honeycomb coiffure, 103, 149; ringlets, 103-104; streaked locks with central bun, 104
Hair styles of men, 148-149, 154; of women, 149, 156-157
Hamirpur, road to, 1
Hanumangarh, terracottas from, 47
Hanuman panel, Sravasti from, 125
Hariti, image of, from Kasia, 130, 166
Harle, J.C., 7, 130, 170, 171
Hartel, H., 139, 140
Heads, 102-105, females of 102-105, males of, 105
Head dresses of men, 148
Height, temple of 26
Hellenistic, acanthus motif pattern of, 49

I

Iconographical analysis, 141-143
Iconographic conventions, determination of date by, 163
Iconographic representations, 83
Indian Archaeology—A Review, 139
Indian Museum, Calcutta, 3, 83
Ingalls, D.H.H., 114
International Congress of Orientalists, 26th session in 1963, 5, 7
Intrados, arch of, 22

J

Jagsoma, shrine of, 45
Jhijhinaga 2, 5
Johnston, E.H., 140
Joshi, N.P., 28, 114, 170, 171

K

Kakasura attacking Sita, 90
Kala, S.C., 171
Kaleswara, temple of, at Ter, 46
Kaliadamana, terracotta panel of, from Mathura, 127
Kamsa, 85, 142
Kanheri, donor, head-dress of, 166
Kankali Tila, Bodhisattva from, 166
Kannauj, Kingdom of, 2
Kanpur, route from, 1
Kapila, sage and Visnu, 86
Karchuliapur, temple at, 2
Kartikeya, 95, 166; Mathura from, 127
Kasia, Stupa, 14, 49; comparison of terra-cottas from, 50, 57, 58, 59, 62, 124, 165, 169; Hariti her sons from, 115; illustrations of pilaster from, 63
Kausambhi, site for ornamental bricks, 45
Kaustubhamani, medal worn by Kṛṣṇa, 85, 92
Kern Institute, Annual Bibliography of, 140
Keshorayapatana, panel from, 123, 164
Kharod, temple of, 46, 66, 124
Kinnari, from Ahichchhatra, 126
Kirtimukha, comparison of, with other sites, 169
Kohra, temple at, 2
Kramrisch, Stella, 139, 140
Krishna Deva, 50
Krsna, killing Vṛṣabhasura, 75; slaying Kuvalayapidha, 76; representation of, with Kaustubhamani, 85; as incarnation of Visnu, 142; with Balrama, 70, 92
Kubera, terracotta representing, from Kasia, 166
Kudus, on Bhītargāon temple, 74
Kumbha, of Pilasters, 31
Kumrahar, terracottas from, 26, 50, 119-121, 165
Kurari, temple at, 24
Kuṣana period, 58, 65
Kuvalayapidha, slain by Kṛṣṇa, 92, 133

L

Lakhneswara temple of Kharod, 46
Lakṣmana temple, of Sirpur, 46
Laksmi, 141, 142
Leeuw, J.E. Van Lohuizen, de 139
Lightning, Bhitargaon temple struck by, 25
Longhurst, A.H., 3, 4, 5, 7, 15, 19, 20, 27, 66, 94, 140

Loin breeches, dress for males in panels, 144
Lotus medallion, on temple, 113, 169

M

Madhu and Kaitabha, strangulation of, 88, 92
Mahayan, B.D., 114, 140
Mahasthan, terracottas from, 48, 66, 121-122, 132, 164
Majumdar, N.G., 139
Makara, representation of, 71, 72, 73, 83, 110, 111
Male figures, 95-98
Mārg, 18, 20, 21, 130
Marshall, J.H., 7, 114
Mathura, terracottas from, 26, 45, 126-127, 132, 165
Mathura Museum, 26
Measured drawings, temple of, 8, 11, figs. 4-7
Medals on chest, 151
Medhat Gokul, terracottas from, 119, 131, 164
Mehta, R.N., 67, 171
Men and animals, 106-108
Minute decoration, in intricate detail, 136 ff.
Mirpur khas, terracottas from, 31, 48, 49, 66, 123, 132, 164
Mishra, V., 50, 67, 139
Mithuna compositions, 72, 75, 76, 83, 100-102, virtuosity of, 136
Moti Chandra, 67, 139, 166, 170, 171
Motifs on bricks and pilasters, acanthus, 33; biconical links, 32; cable, 42-43; chain, 32; chequers, 32; crenellation, 33; curved line, 33; dog tooth, 32; flower, 33; illustrated, 35-36; lotus petals, 32; lozenge, 33; oblique, 32; quatrefoil, 42; rectangular, 33; related to date, 168; star, 33; stepped, 32; tablet flower, 33; used in pilasters, frequency of, 34, 41-42
Mughal, rule of, 2
Multan, sun temple of, 45
Munda, terracottas from, 47
Mural treatment, inner, of temple, 25
Museum, U.P. State Museum of at Lucknow, 26
Muṣtikasura, 85
Mythical animals, 72, 108-109

N

Nachna Kuthara, representation of Ravana as mendicant from, 91, 164; stiff tunic of Ravana, 167
Naga deity, representation of, 70, 75, 88, 141, 142
Nagari, terracottas from, 46, 66, 122-123, 131, 164
Naldrug, temple of Ter, in, 46
Nara Narayana, temptation of, 81, 137, 142
Nath, R., 7, 27, 28, 114
Nawab Wazirs of Avadh, 2
Necklaces, 151
Newal, terracottas from 45, 49, 62, 123-124, 132, 164
Nirvana temple, at Kasia, 57, 58, 65
Nivibandha, 136

O

Ornamental bricks, comparison with, of Ahichchhatra, 50-57; Badopal, 46; Bhadra Kali Theri, 47; Bhitari, 61-62; Devnimorni, 48-49; Hanumangarh, 47; Kasia, 57-58; Kharod, 46; Kumrahar, 50; Mirpur khas, 48; Munda, 47; Nagari, 46; Newal, 62; Pakna Bihar, 62; Pattan Manara, 48; Pir Sultan Ki Theri, 47; Rangmahal, 46; Sarnath, 59-60; Sirpur, 46; Śrāvastī, 60-61; Suratgarh, 47; Ter, 46; Vaisali, 50; fabrication of, 44; surface texture of, 46
Ornaments, 150-158: detailed modelling of, 137 ff.

P

Paharpur, terracottas from, 48, 116-119, 131, 164
Pakna Bihar, terracottas from, 45, 49, 62, 65
Panels, measurements of, 69; Ist row of, 70; 2nd, 71; 3rd, 74; 4th, 77; 5th, 78; 6th, 78; 7th, 79; 8th, 79; above 8th, 81; not identified, 113
Panigrahi, K.C., 50, 67
Parauli, temple of, 2, 24, 46, 52, 66
Parvati, goddess, 142
Patna Museum, 26
Pattan Manara, terracotta from, 48, 66
Pawaya, terracotta from, 124-125
Peacock, representation of, 72, 111-112
Pedestal, pilasters, of, 30
Pilasters, 23, 29; dimensions of, 31, 32; illustrations of, 37-40; of Kasia compared, 160-161
Pir Sultan Ki Theri, 47
Plan, temple of, 13; fig., 10
Power, depicted with poise in Varaha, 135
Pralambha and Balrāma, 126

R

Rāhula, Gautam Buddha's son, 133

Raja of Kasi in Ajanta, 166
Rajasthan, terracottas from, 46, 164
Rama, 142
Rama and Sita, 76, 90
Ramayana scene from Sravasti, 125
Rambach, 114
Rambhar, in Kasia, 50, 57, 66
Rameswara cave no. 21; representation of Śivā and Parvati in, 87
Rangmahal, terracottas from, 46, 66, 122, 132, 164
Rao, T.A., Gopinath, 114
Rar, temple at, 2, 24
Ravana, 142; seeking alms, 90-91
Realism, in representation of animal figures, 133
Recesses, of temples, 16
Representation of detail, comparable to ivory work, 137 ff.
Rim, Kumbha, of, 31
Rind or Arind, river, 2
Ring courses, balusters of, 43
River goddesses, images on temples, 85
Roof, temple of, 25
Rope cushion of Kumbha of pilaster, 31, 32
Roy, S.R., 67
Rydh, Hanna, 67, 139

S

Ṣaddanta Jataka, 166
Saheth Maheth, 27
Sahni D.R., 67
Saktasura, 96
Sanghati, 86, 146
Sankissa, 45, 62
Saraswati, S.K., 140
Sarnath, illustration of carved bricks from, 63; Stupa, 136; of, 49; terracottas from, 49, 50, 58, 59, 65, 168
Sarsaul, route via, 1, 2
Sash, as part of dress of males, 146
Sastri, H., 67, 139
Saton, temple of, 24
Section, temple of, 14, fig. 11
Śesaṣāyī Visnu, 88, 134
Sen, Asis, 114
Serpenthood trefoil ornament, 152
Shaft, pilaster of, 31
Sharma, R.C., 140, 171
Sikachcha dhoti, 145, 147
Sikhara, temple of, 16, 17, 19, 23, 25
Simbhua, temple of, 2, 24
Singh, R.C., 7, 140
Sinha, B.P., 67
Sinha, K.K., 61
Sirpur, temple of, 46, 66, 124
Skanda Gupta, 61
Sita, goddess, image of, 132, 142
Śiva and Pārvati, 3, 70, 87, 133, 141, 142; from Ahichchhatra, 126
Śiva, flaying elephant, 70
Śiva gaṇas at Daksa's sacrifice, Ahichchhatra, panel from, 125
Sivaramamurti, C., 114
Smith, V.A., 114
Spire, temple of, 26
Spooner, D.B., 67, 139
Sravasti, 17; terracottas from, 45, 49, 50, 60, 65, 125, 131, 165
Sri Kumara Gupta, legend inscription of, 62
Standard of excellence, lapses in, 138
State Museum, Lucknow 4, 83, 86
Stratum of excavations at Ahichchhatra, 55
Streaked lock with central tuft, hair style as, 150
Stylistic characteristics, panels of, determinant of age, 164
Sultans of Delhi, 2
Sumbha and Nisumbha, demons, representation of, 92
Suratgarh, terracotta from, 46, 47, 50, 66, 122, 132, 164
Surpnakha, panel of, from Sravasti, 125

T

Tamluk plaque, description of, 127-128
Taxila, terracotta from, 45
Temple II, ACI of Ahichchhatra, 52
Temple V, South West of Temple II of Ahichchhatra, 52
Ter, temple of, 46, 66, 124
Terracotta, ageless type, 115; Architectural, 116; implements, 115; cult objects, 115; timed variations, 115; toys, 115; utensils, 115
Terracotta panels, arrangement and sequence of, on temple, 68-82; comparison with panels from Ahichchhatra, 125-126; Badopal, 122; Barehat, 124; Bikaner, 122; Deh Parbatiya, 119; Kasia, 124; Keshorayapatana, 123; Kumrahar, 119-121; Mahasthan, 121-122; Mathura, 126-127; Medhat Gokul, 119; Mirpur khas, 123; Nagari, 122-123;

Newal 123; Paharpur, 116-119; Pawaya, 124-125; Rangmahal, 122; Sravasti, 125; Suratgarh, 122; Tamluk, 127-128; correspondence list with figures, xix; description of, 83-113; iconographical analysis of, 141-143
Thithaura, temple of, 24
Tinduli, temple of, 24
Trefoil ornament, 167-168
Tresses and ringlet of female figures, 156
Tripataka mudra, 97
Trivikrama, temple of, at Ter, 46
Tunic, as male dress, 145

U

Udaigiri cave, 85, 89, 164
Urvasi, 93
Uttareswara, temple of, at Ter, 46
Uttariya, as dress of female figures, 146
Uttar Pradesh, Bhītargāon temple in, 1

V

Vaisali, or Besarh, or Basarh, terracotta from, 48, 49, 50, 66
Vakataka period, 87
Varaha-Narasimha Viṣṇu, headdress of, 167
Varaha, Viṣṇu as, 70, 89, 143
Varanasi, terracotta from, 45
Vats, M.S., 67, 114, 159
Vidyadhara, 80, 98, 134
Viennot, O., 113, 129, 140
Vijayakanta Mishra, 50
Vikachchha dhoti, 147
Violent action shown with vigour, 135
Viṣṇu, 141, 142, 143; crown of 94; destroying demons, 70, 75, 92; on Garuda, 70, 84; temple of, at Sirpur, 46; with Ayuddhaputusas, 87, 89, 133; with Madhu & Kaitabha, 93, 94
Visvesvara, 142
Vṛṣabhasura, destruction of, by Kṛṣṇa 88, 133
Vogel, J.Ph., 3, 5, 6, 7, 15, 20, 24, 25, 27, 44, 57, 58, 66, 67, 82, 85, 91, 113, 114, 131, 140, 143, 160, 170
Voussoirs, 21, 27

W

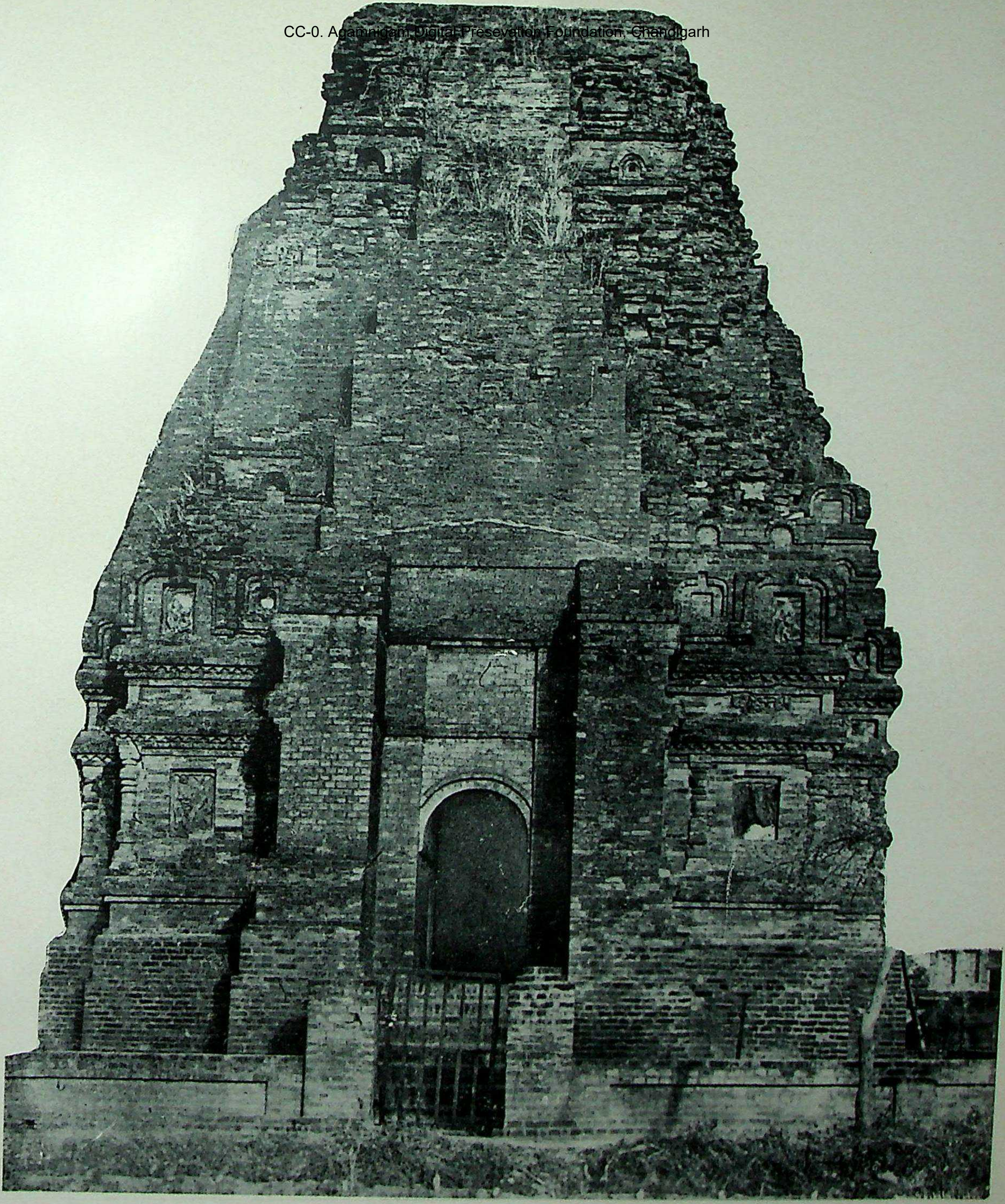
Walls, temple of, 23
Wrapped skirt as female dress, 147
Wrestlers, 73, 105-106

Y

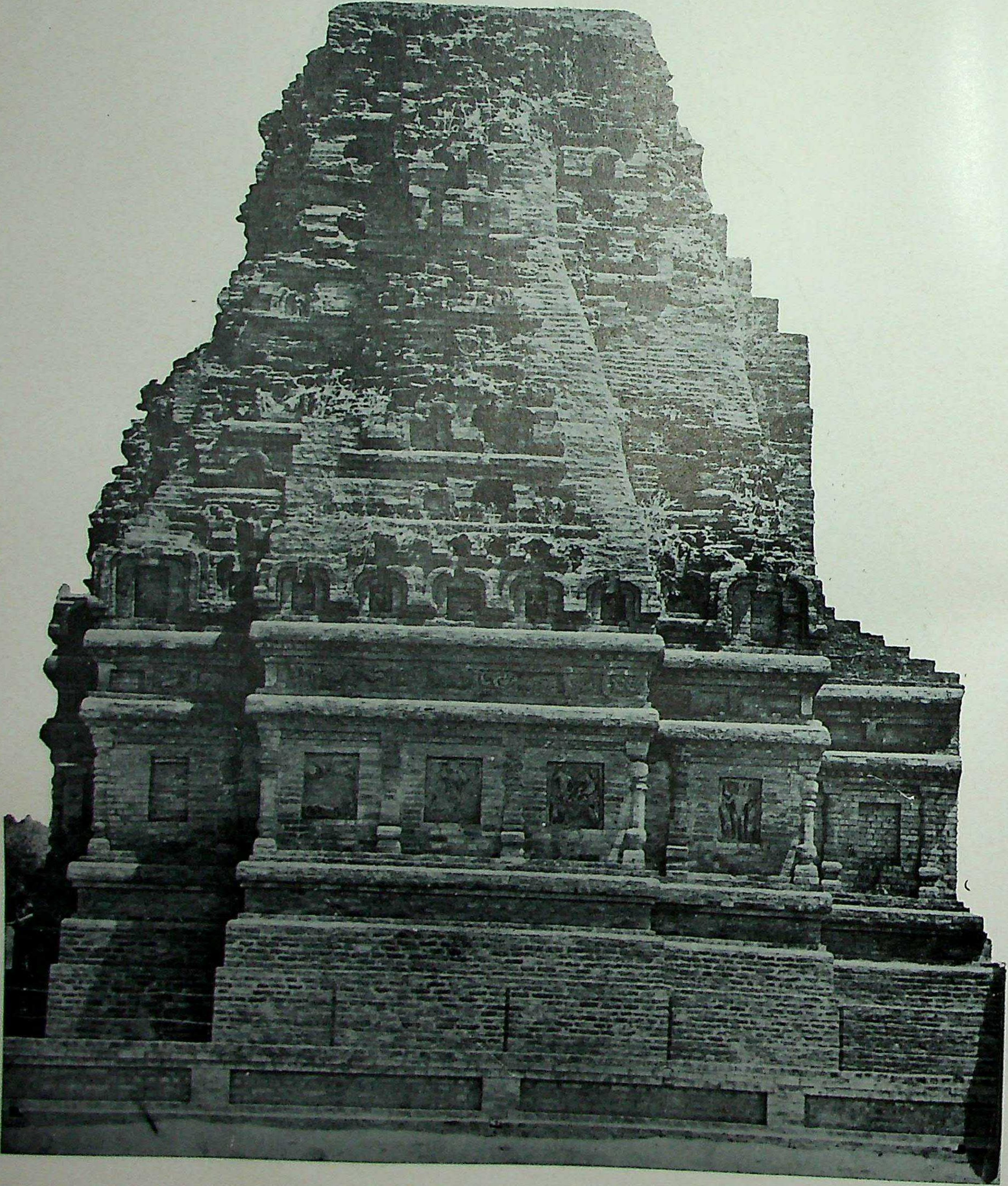
Yajnopavita, 146
Yamuna, river goddess, 2, 70, 84, 85, 141, 142
Yasodhara, 133
Yazdani, G., 170

Z

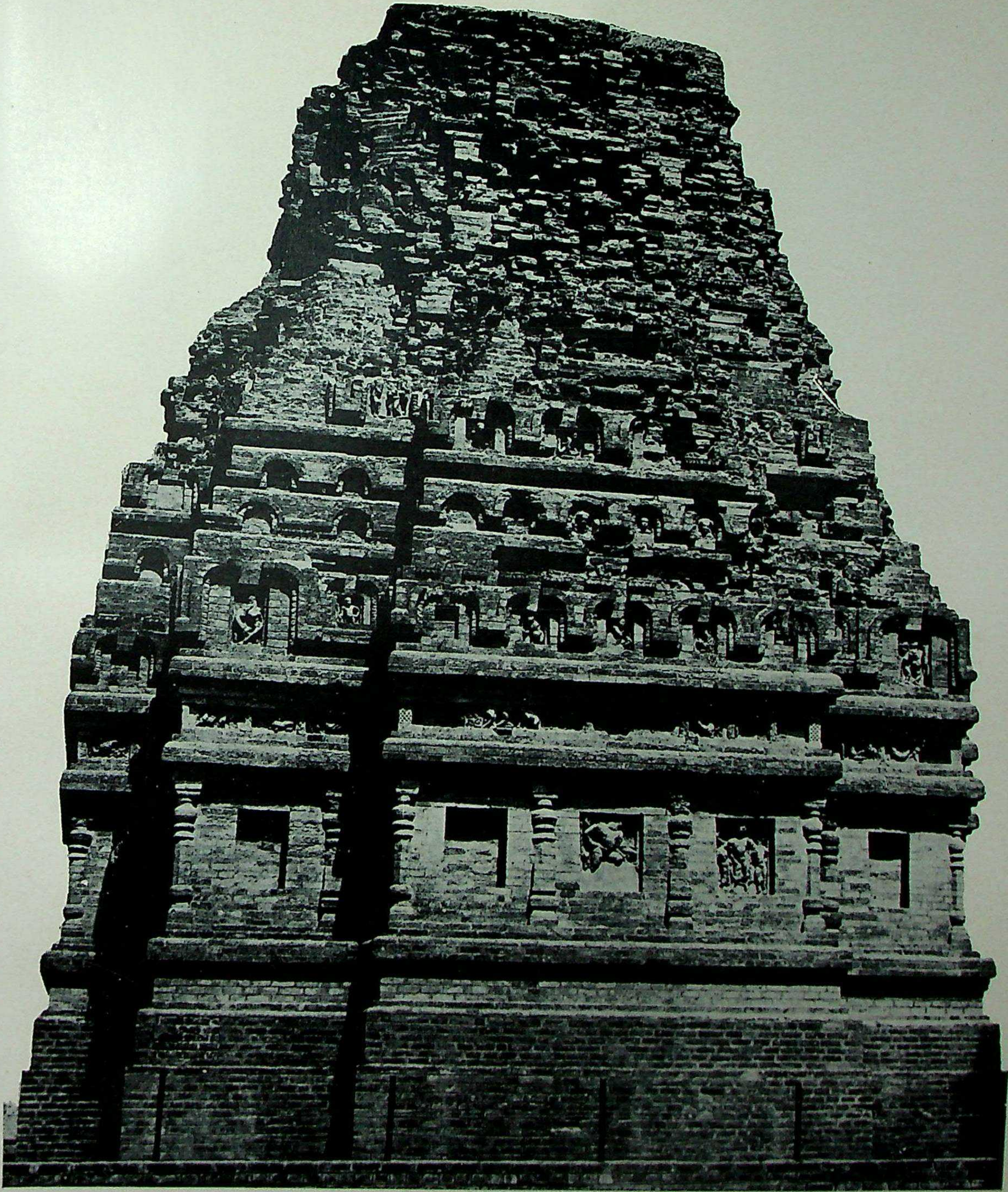
Zimmer, H., 170, 171



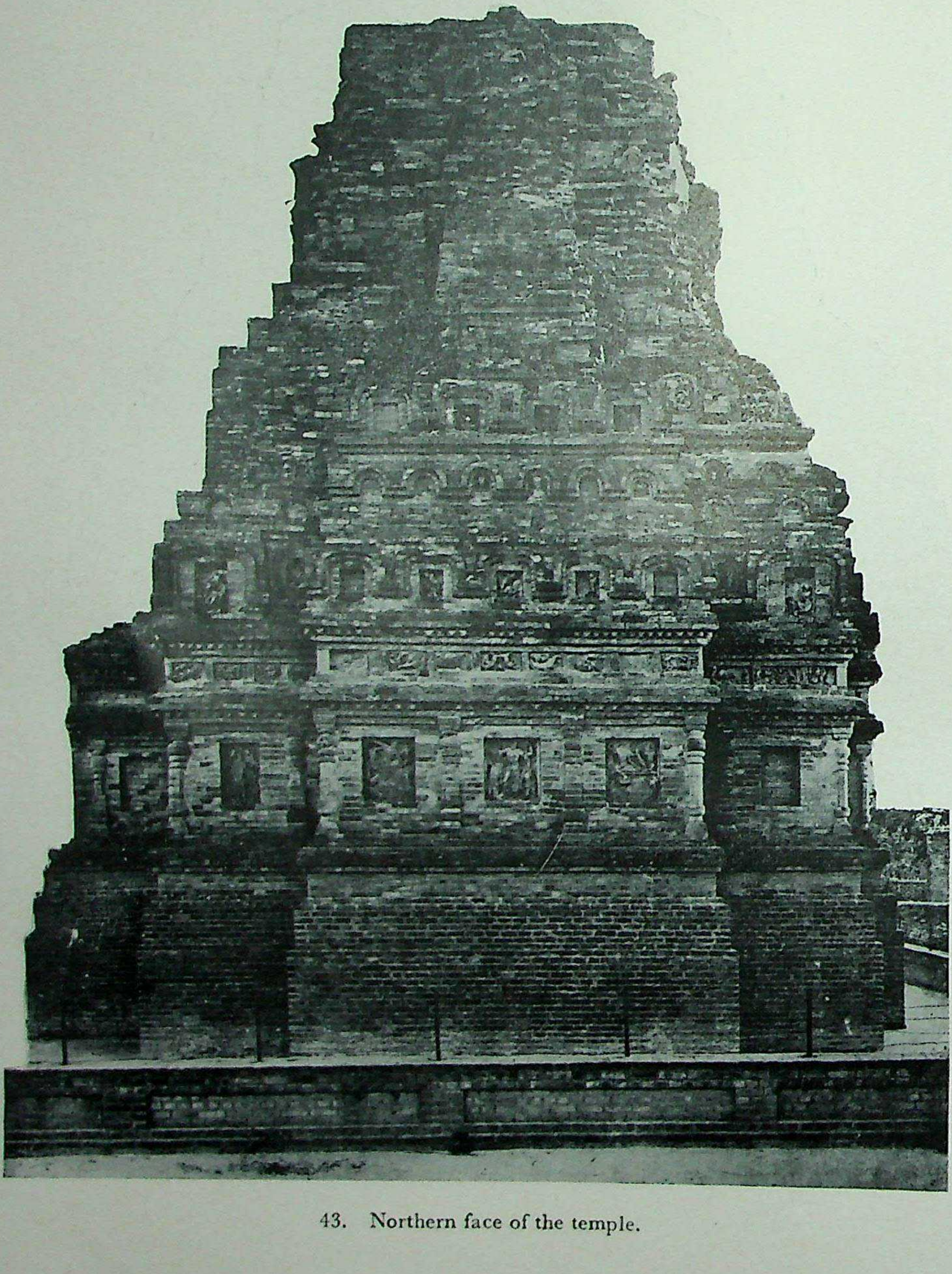
40. Eastern face of the temple.



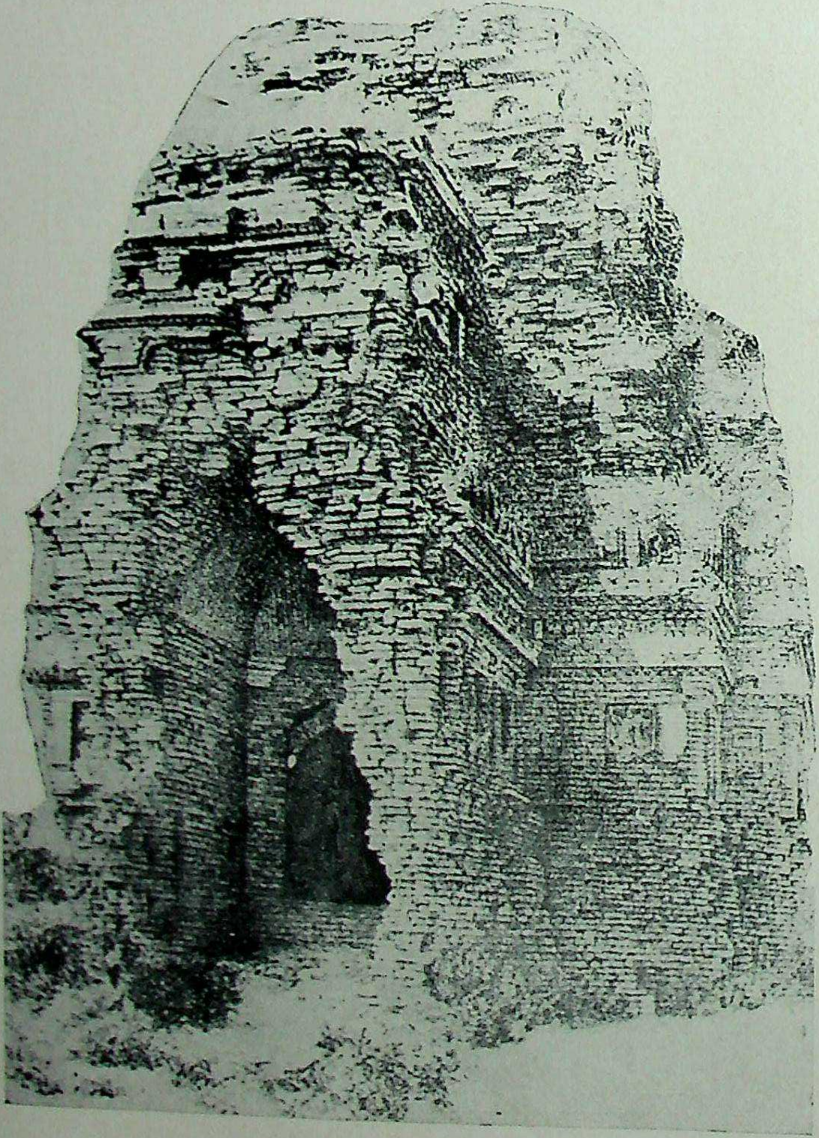
41. Southern face of the temple.



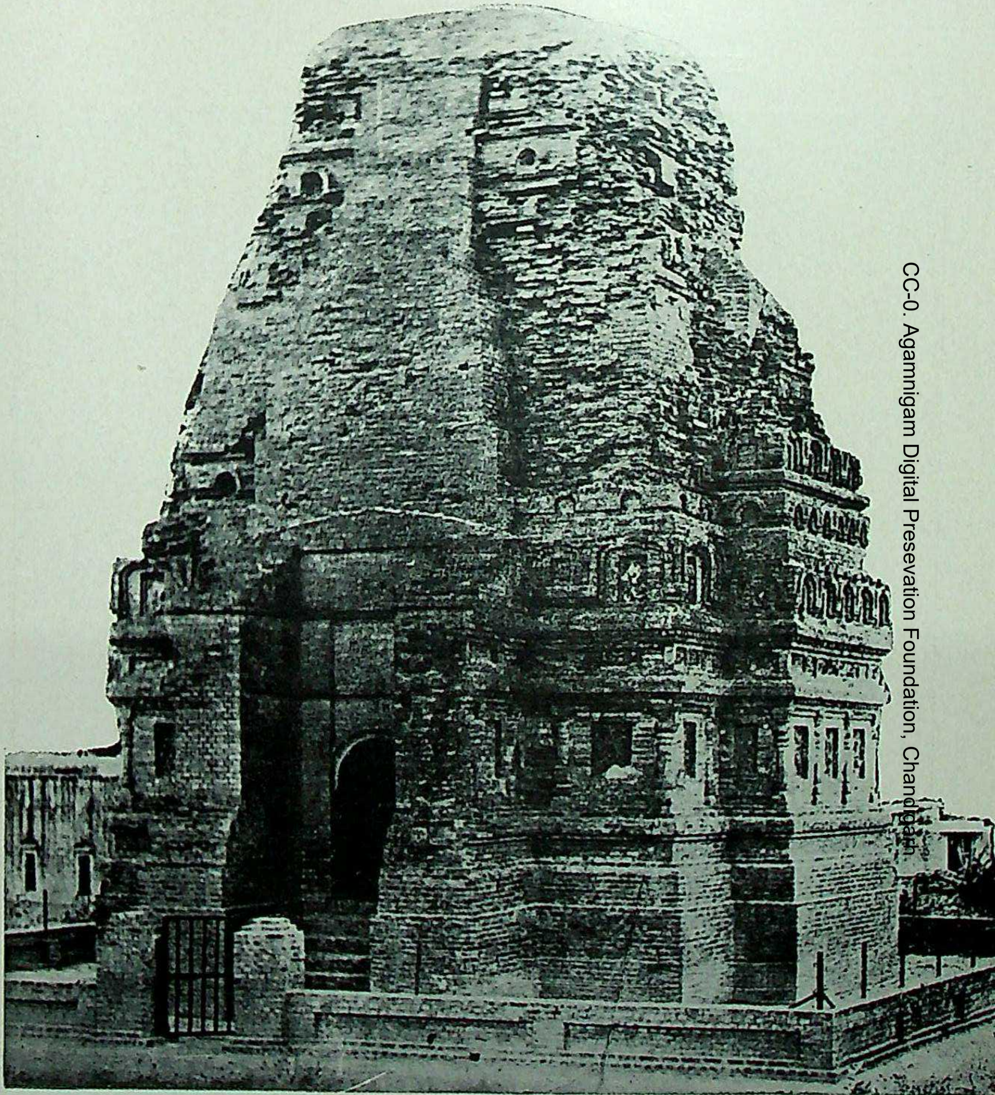
42. Western face of the temple.



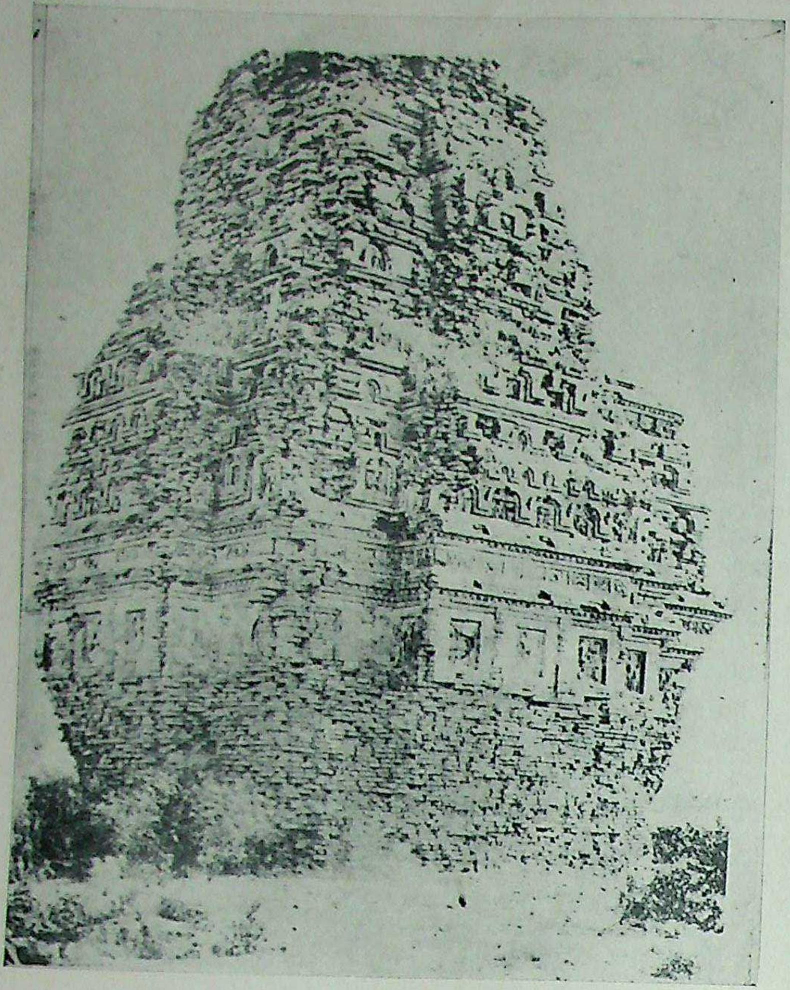
43. Northern face of the temple.



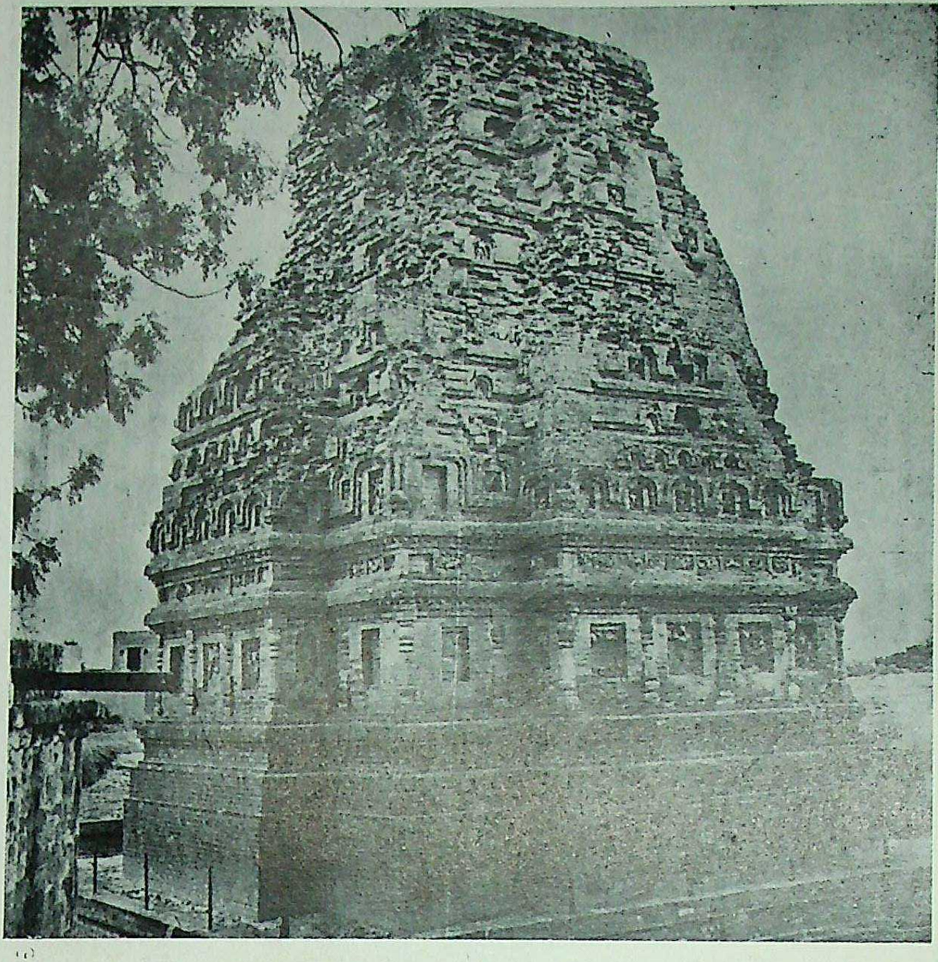
44. View from north-east in 1877.



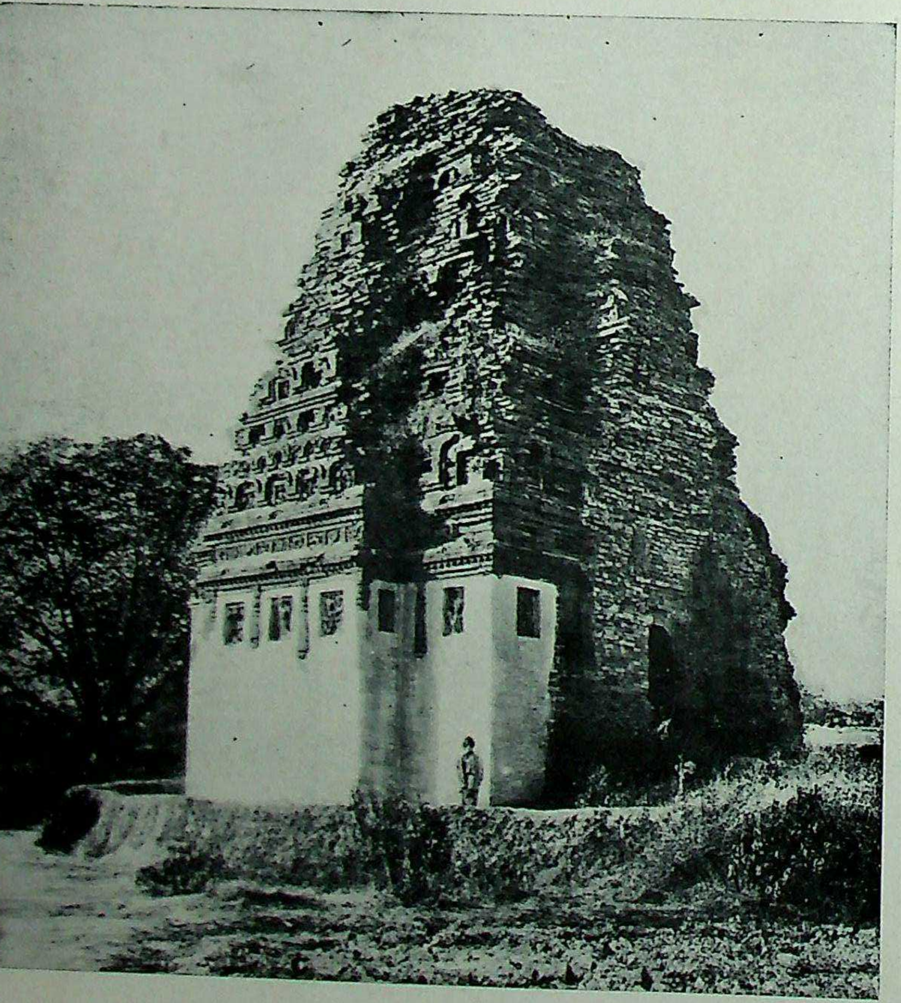
45. Corresponding view from north-east in 1965.



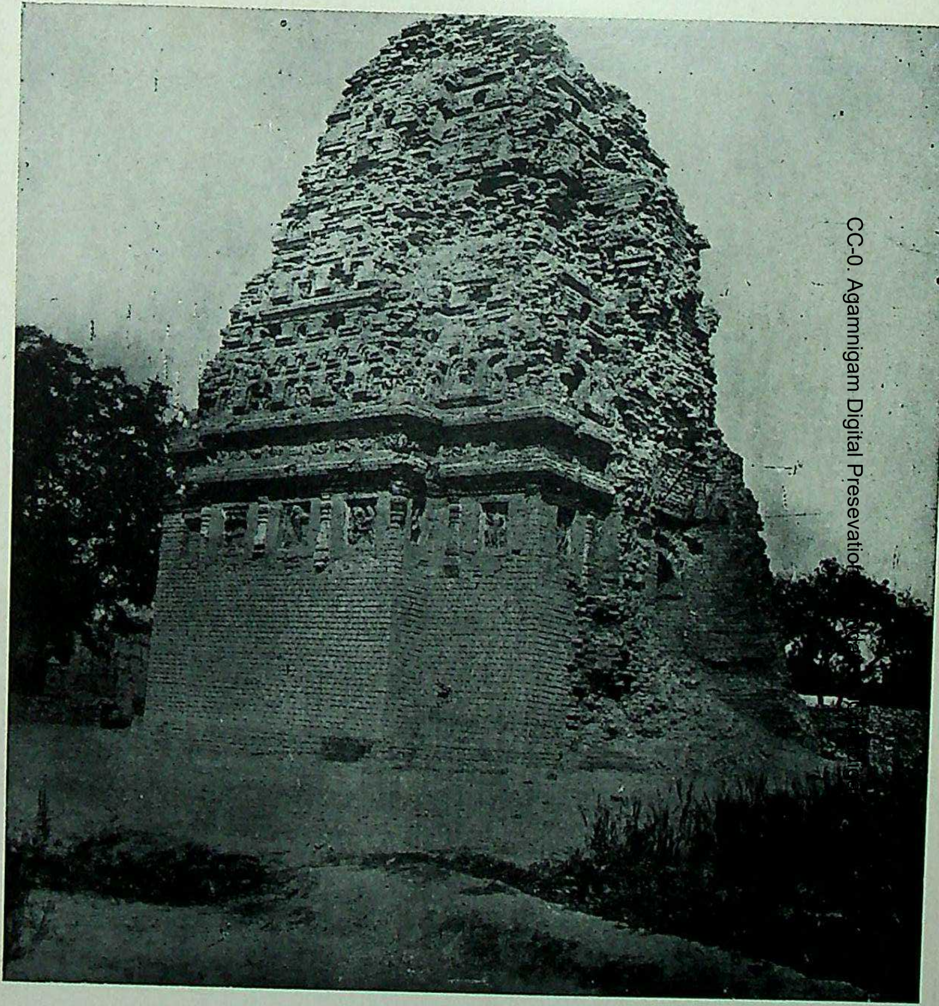
46. View from south-west in 1877.



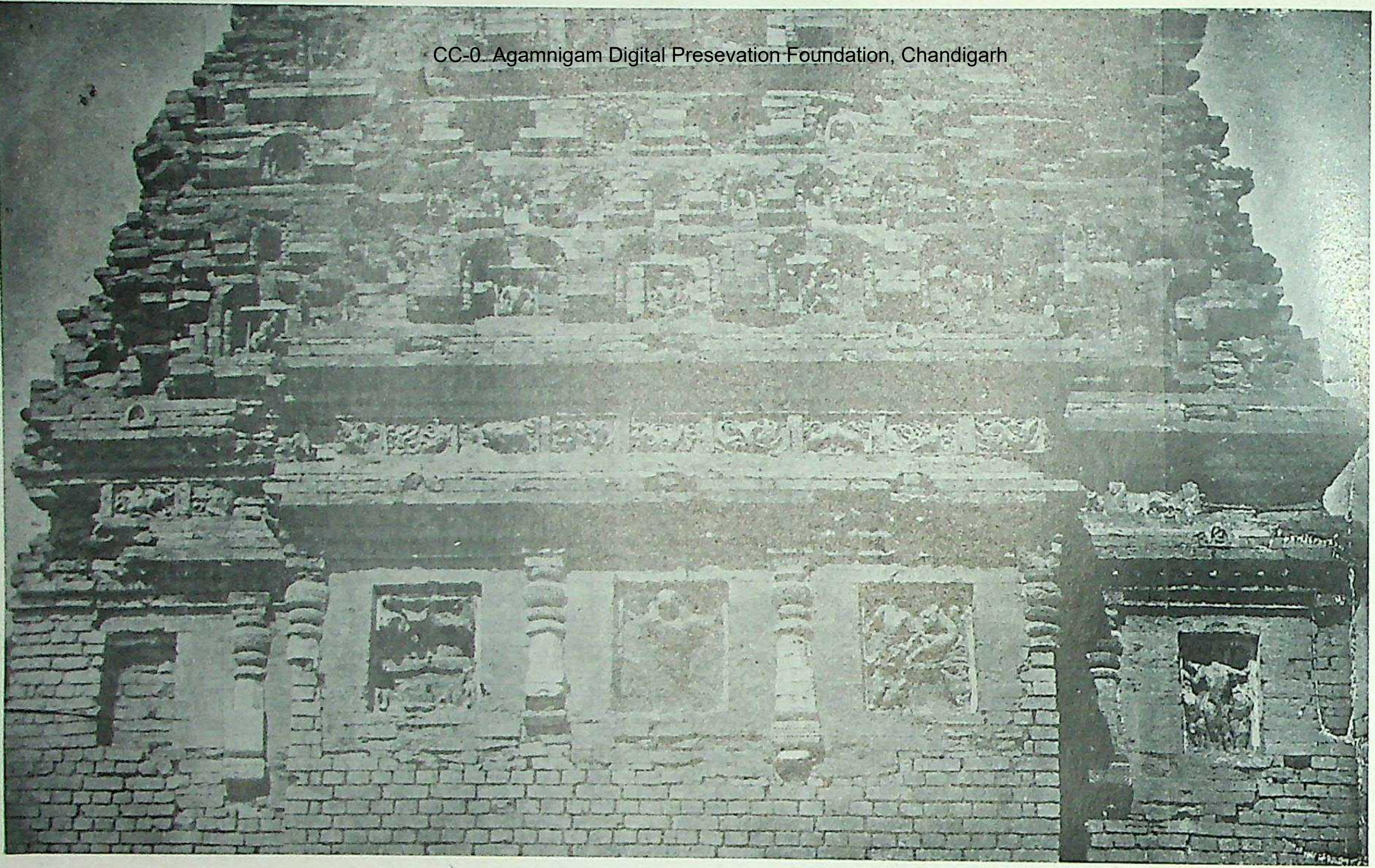
47. Corresponding view from south-west in 1965.



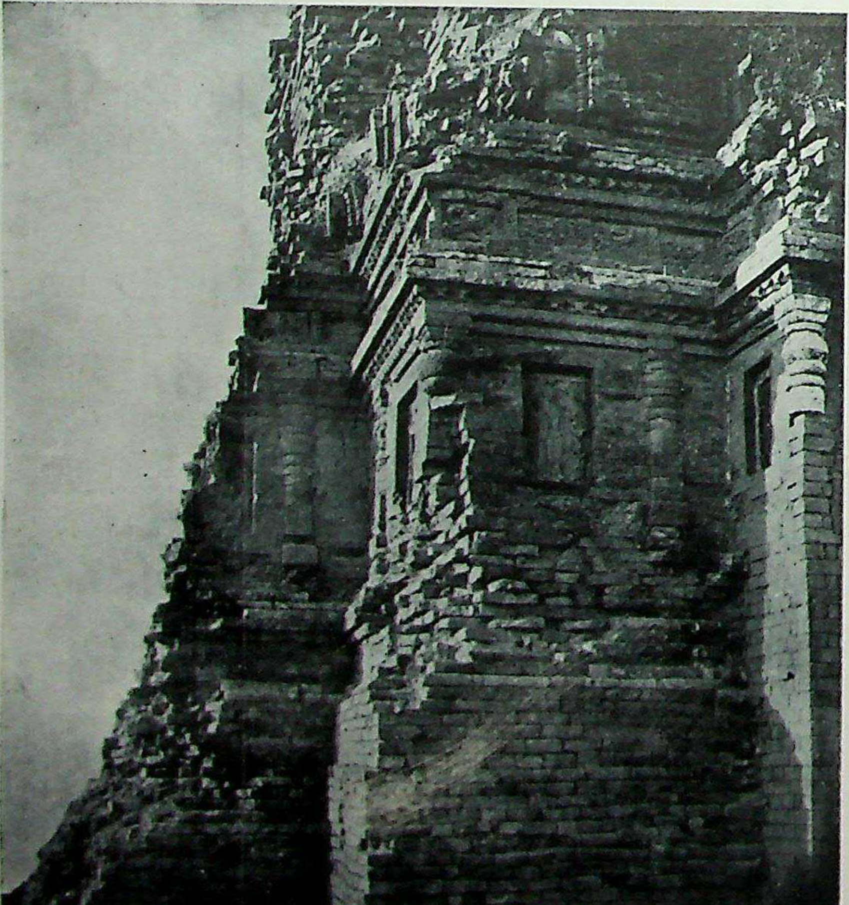
48. South-eastern face after restoring with plaster in 1905,



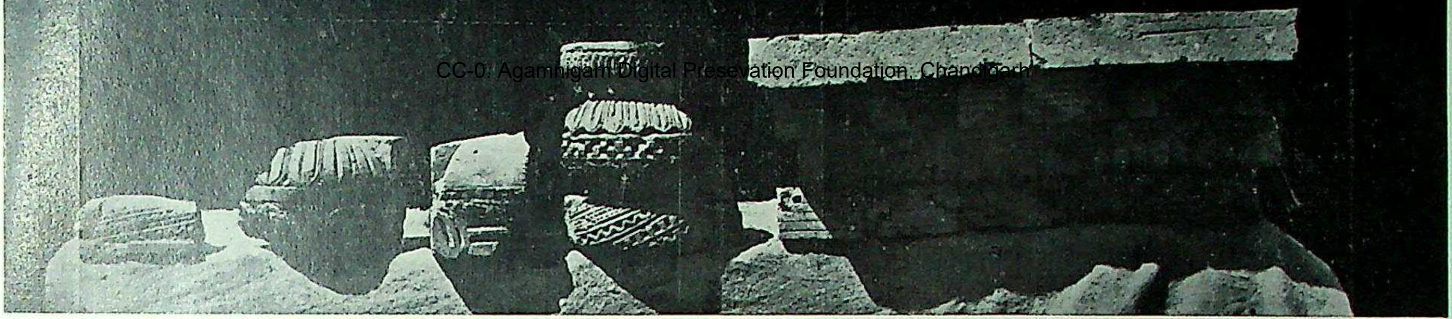
49. South-eastern face after removal of plaster.



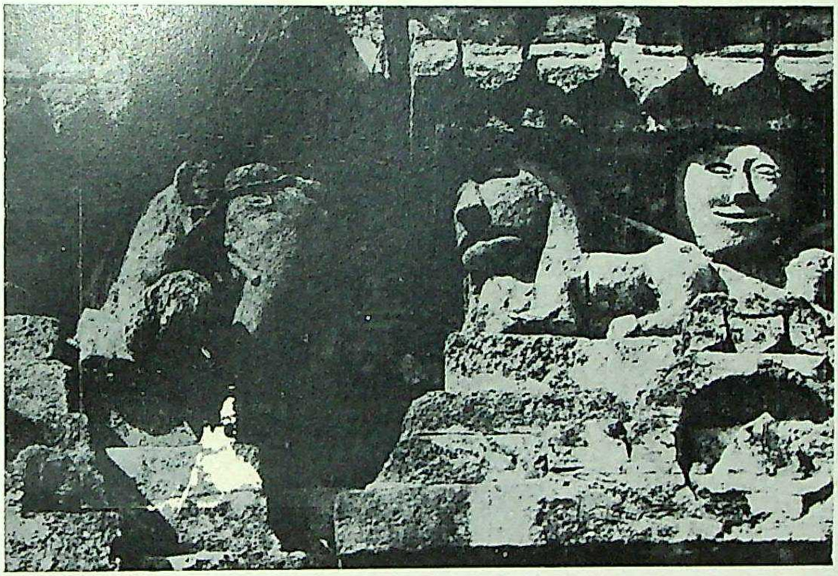
50. Details of southern face in 1909.



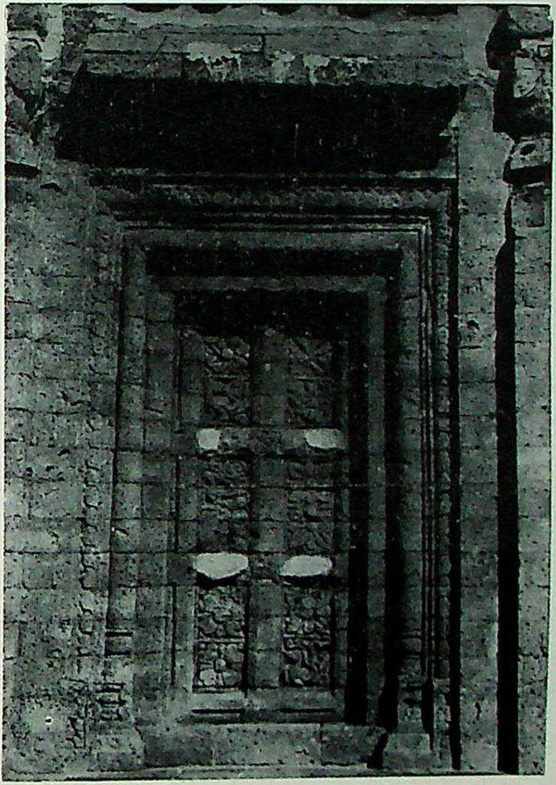
51. Detail of northern face in 1909.



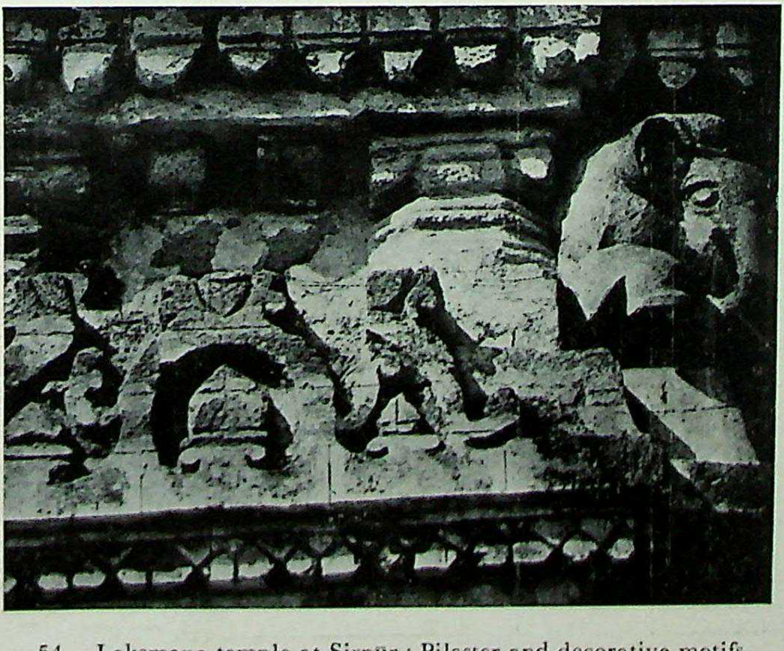
52. Bricks in the State Museum, Lucknow, Photographed in 1909.



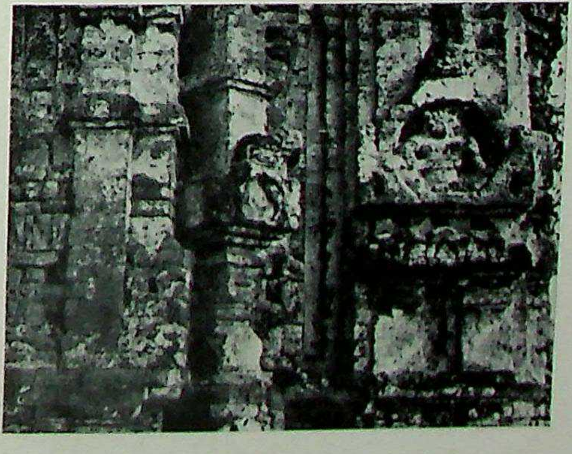
53. Lakṣmana temple at Sirpūr: Elephant, lion and human face.



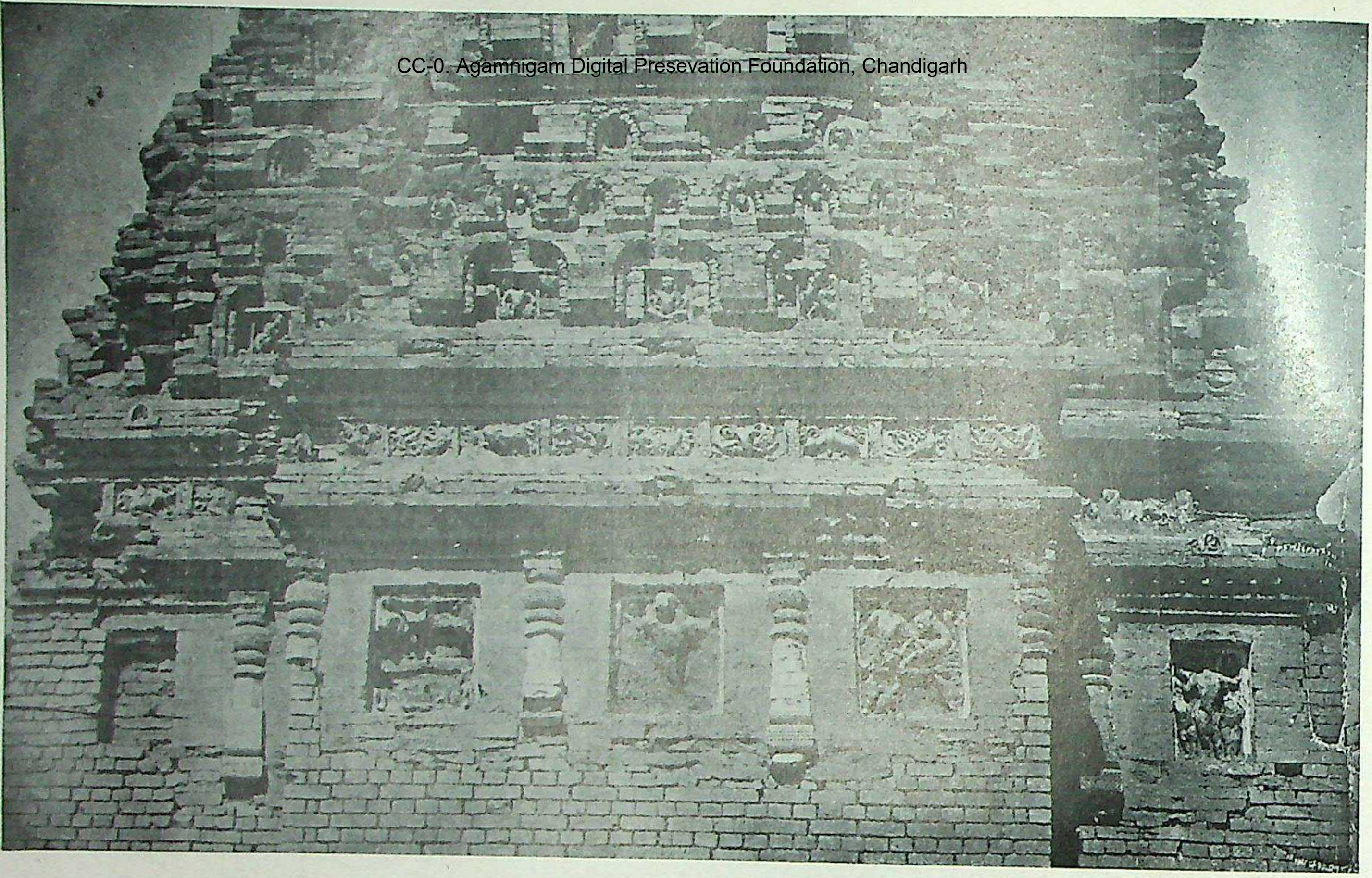
55. Lakṣmana temple at Sirpūr: False door.



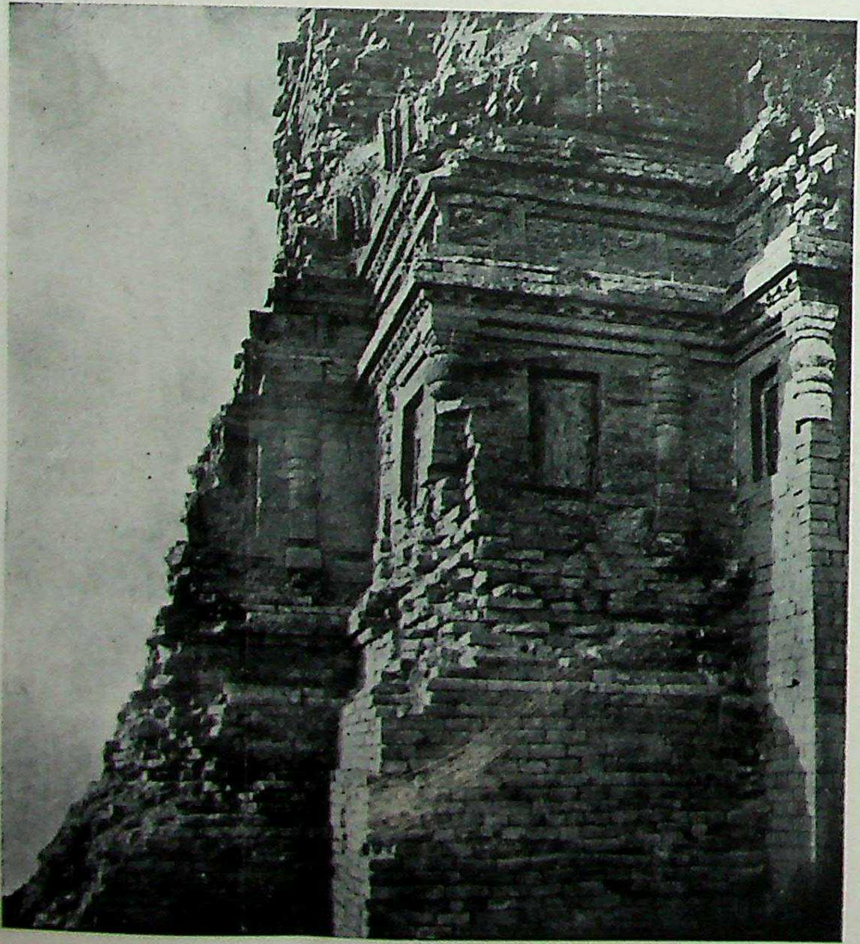
54. Lakṣmana temple at Sirpūr : Pilaster and decorative motifs.



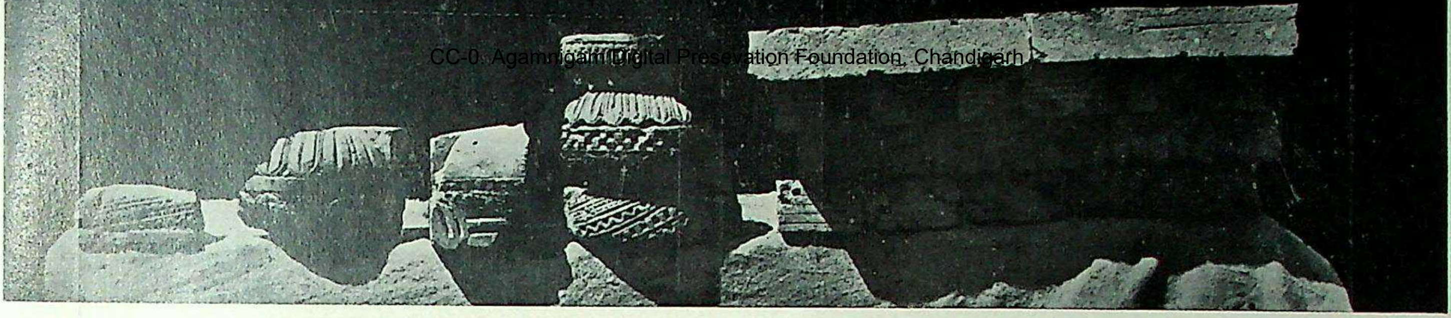
56. Lakhaneśwara temple at Kharod: Decorative motifs.



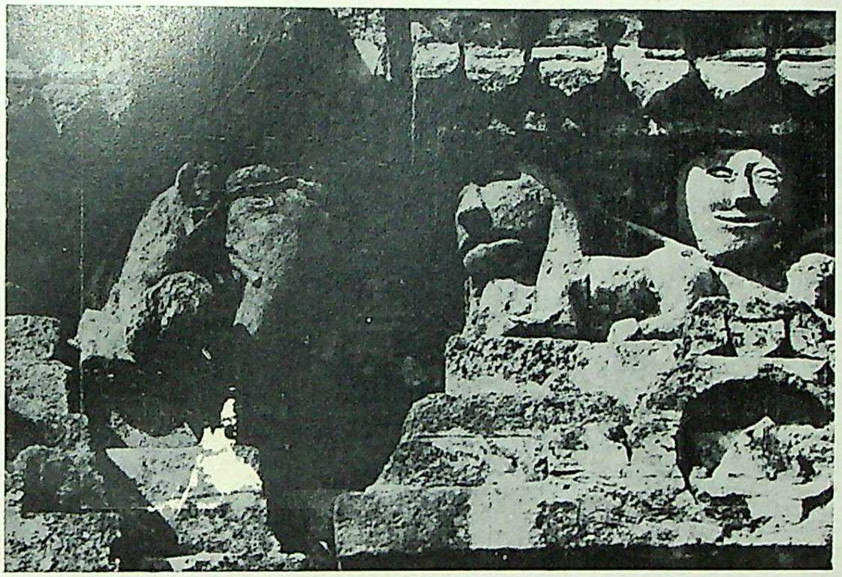
50. Details of southern face in 1909.



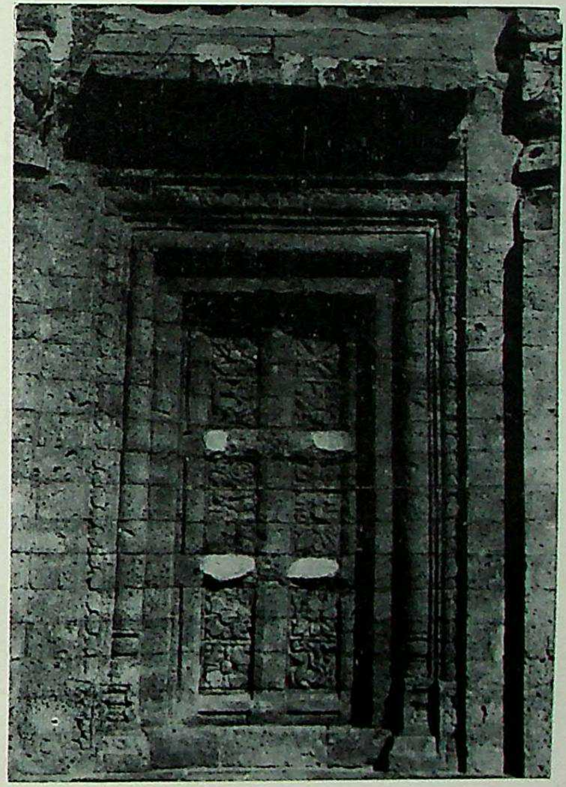
51. Detail of northern face in 1909.



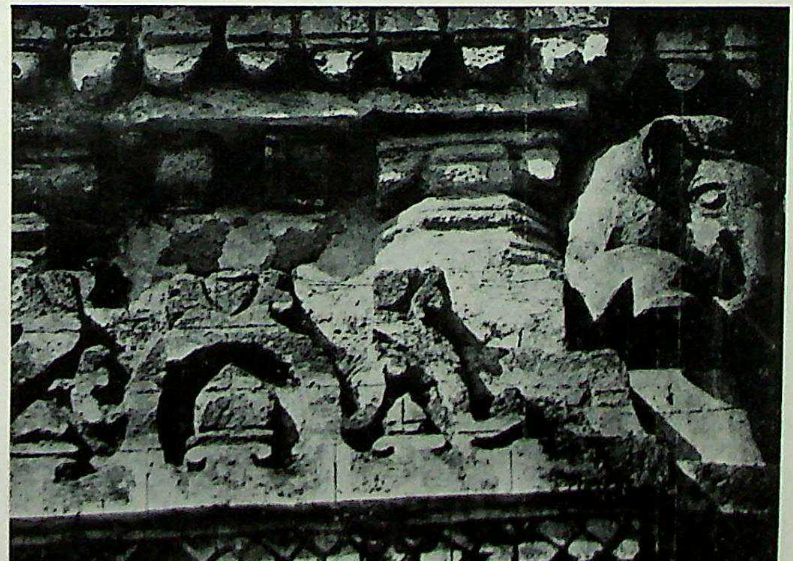
52. Bricks in the State Museum, Lucknow, Photographed in 1909.



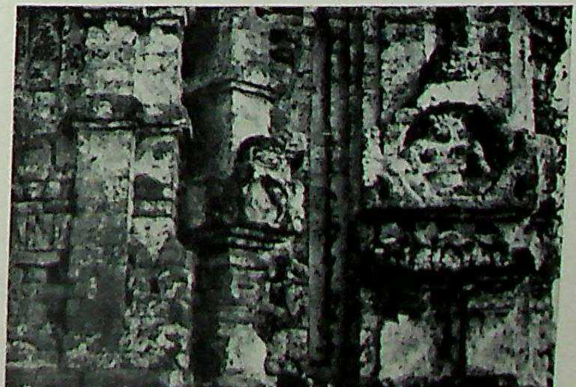
53. Lakṣmana temple at Sirpūr: Elephant, lion and human face.



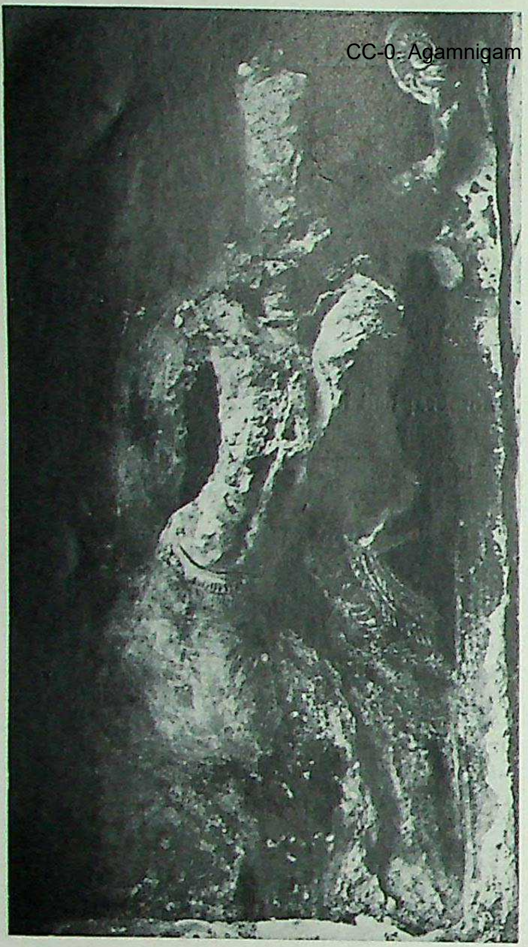
55. Lakṣmana temple at Sirpūr: False door.



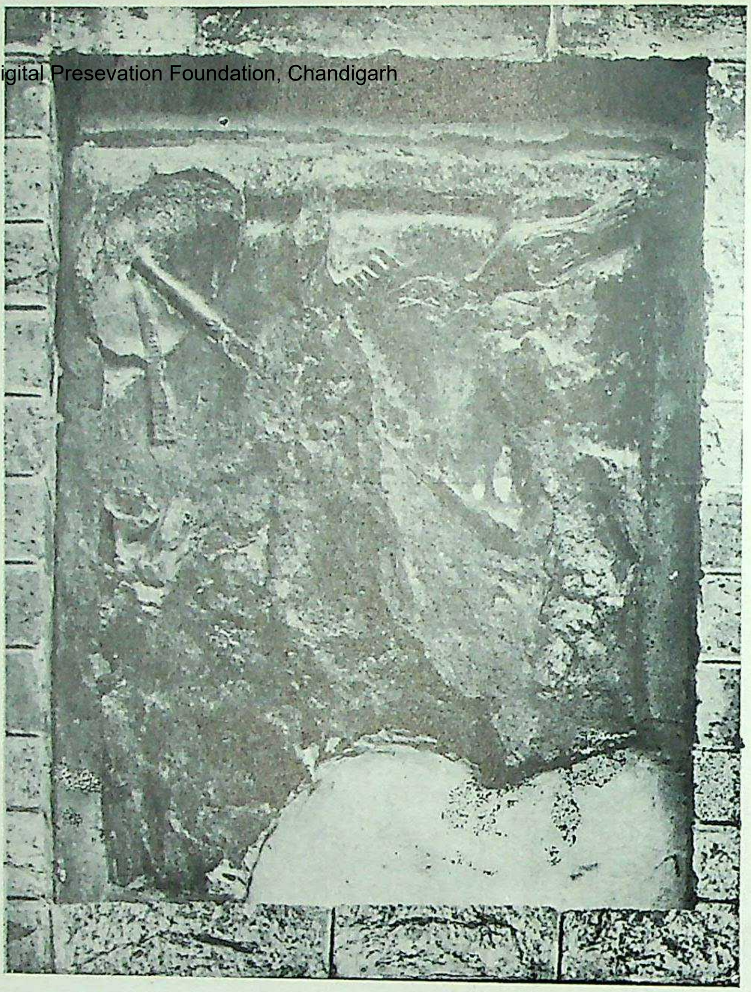
54. Lakṣmana temple at Sirpūr : Pilaster and decorative motifs.



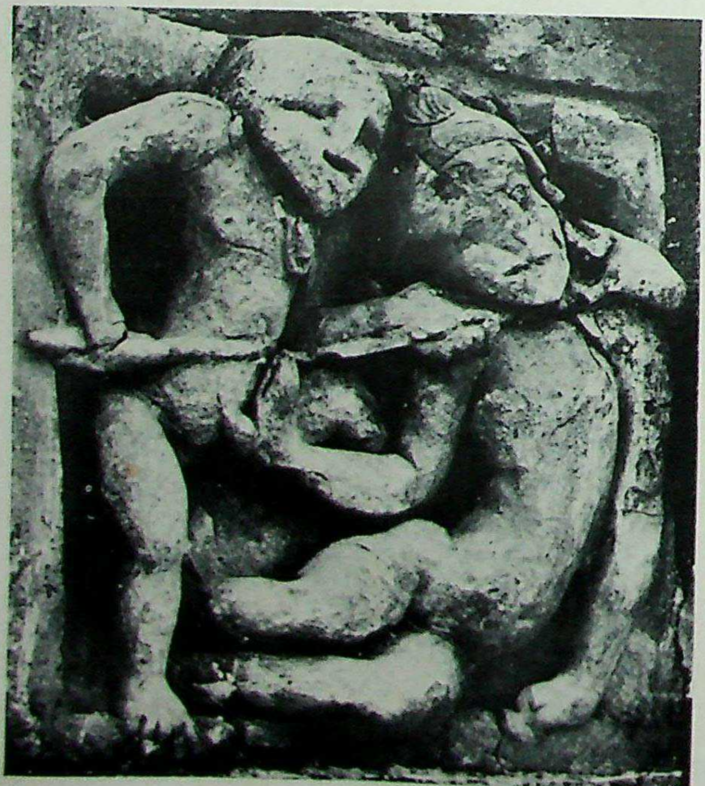
56. Lakhaneśwara temple at Kharod: Decorative motifs.



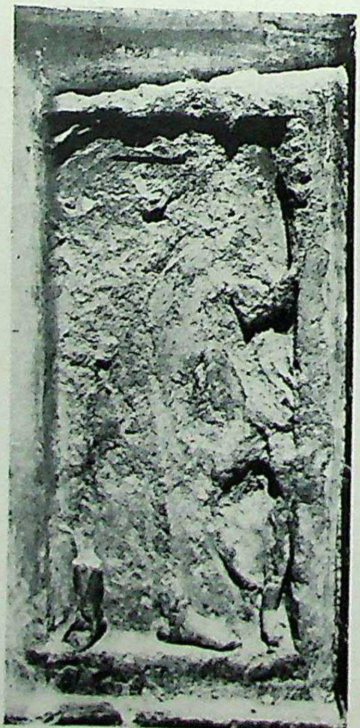
57. E 1.1 Viṣṇu on Garuda.



59. E 1.3 Yamunā.



61. E 12.16 Men striking an adversary with a sword.



60. E 1.4 Unidentified figures.

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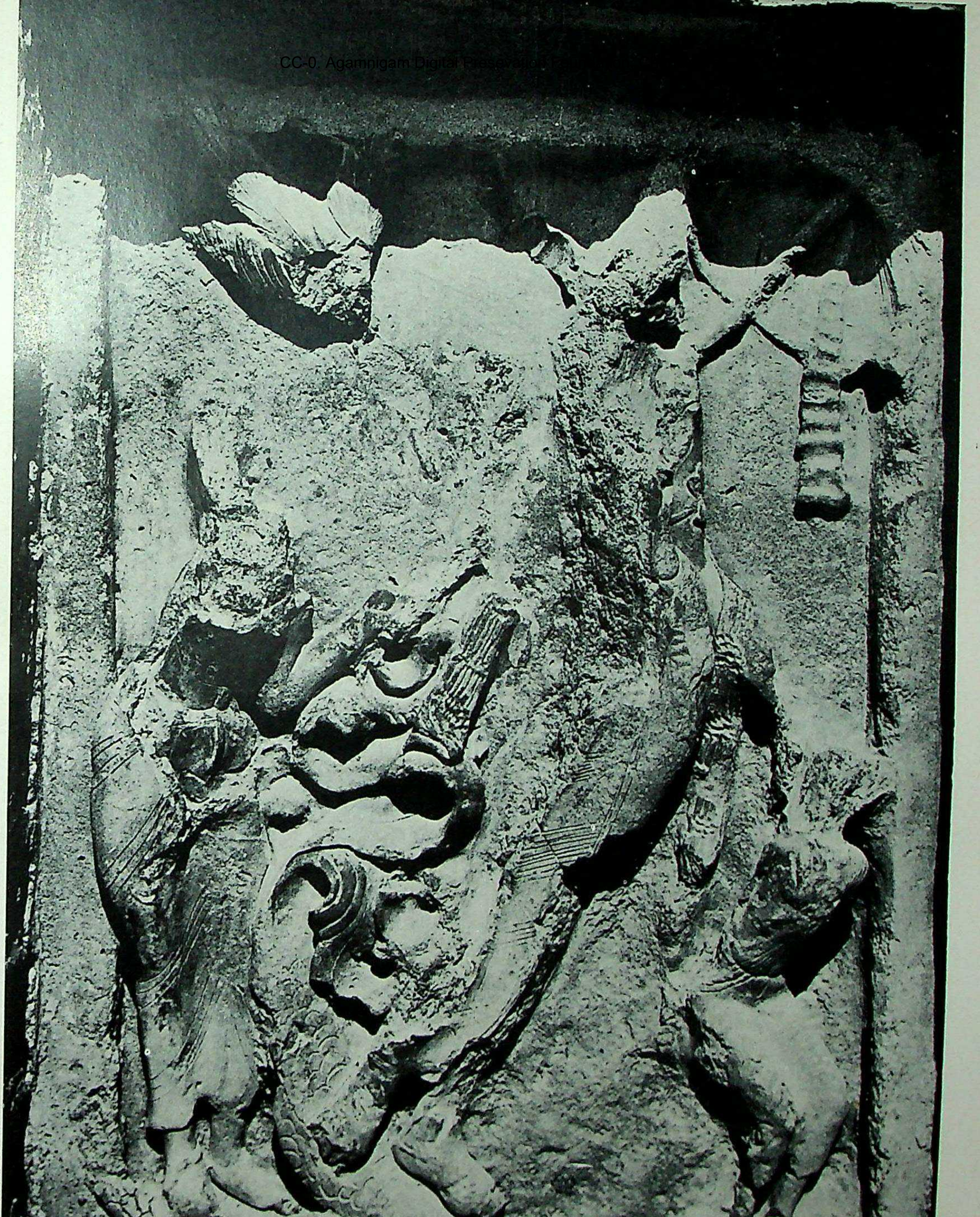
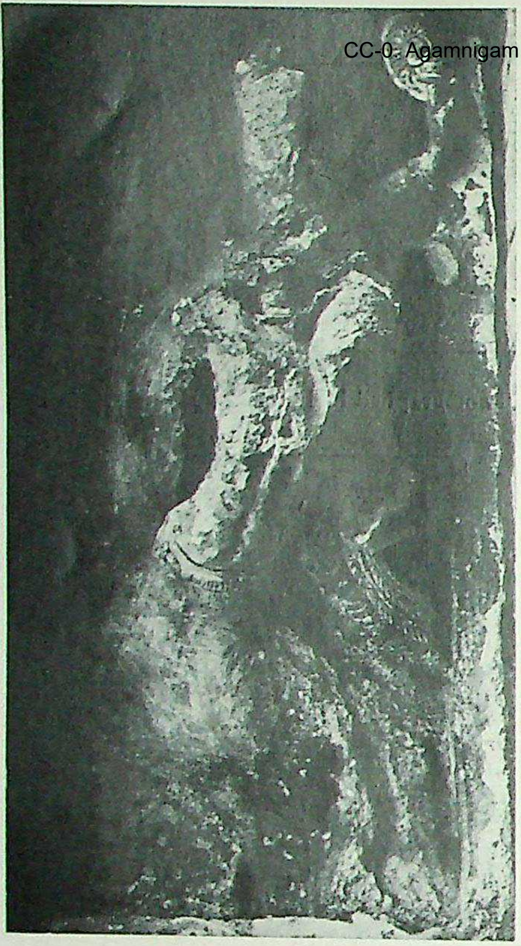
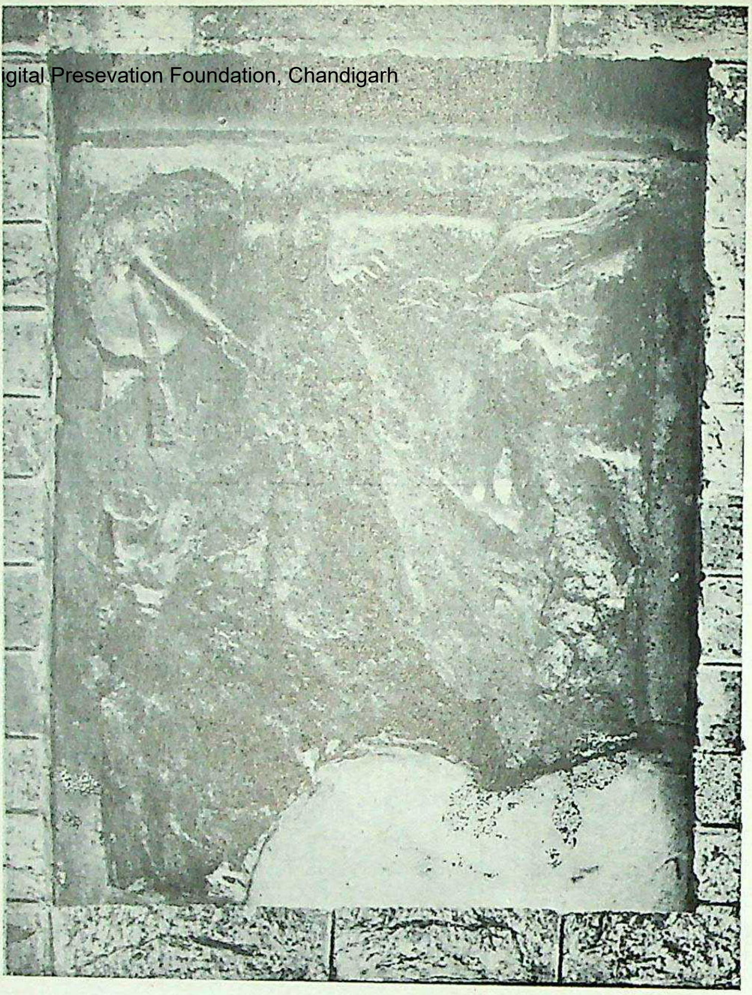


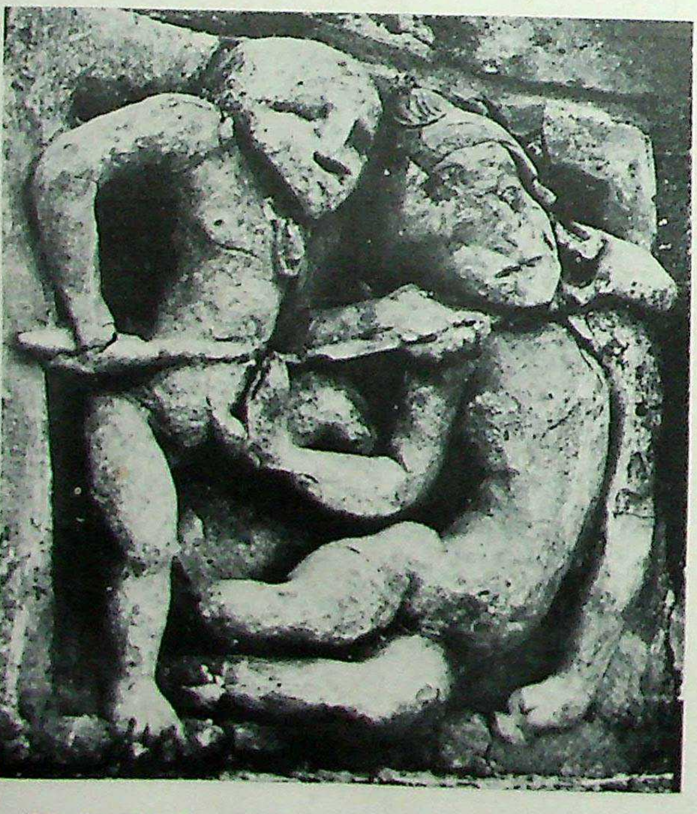
58. E 1.2 Gangā.



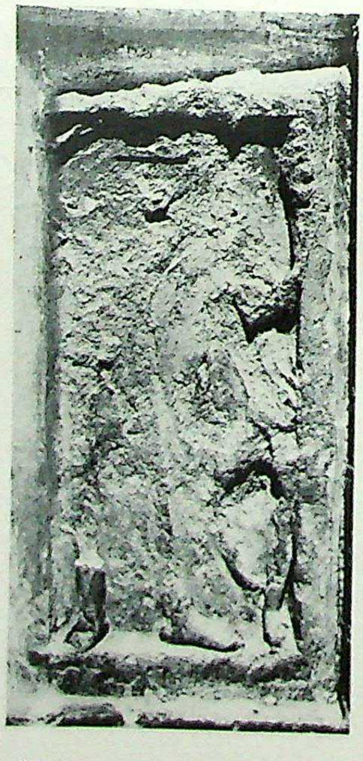
57. E 1.1 Viṣṇu on Garuda.



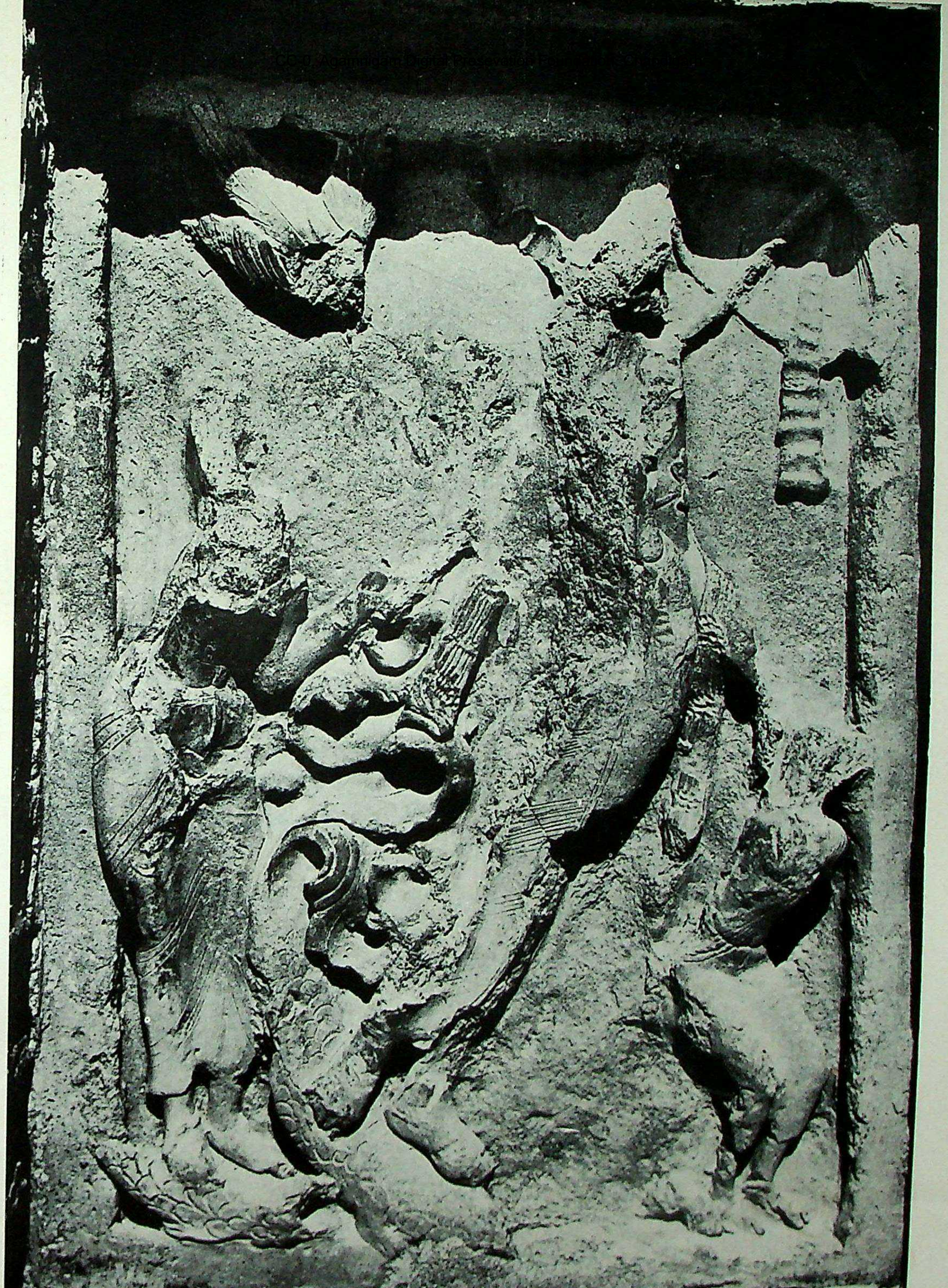
59. E 1.3 Yamunā.



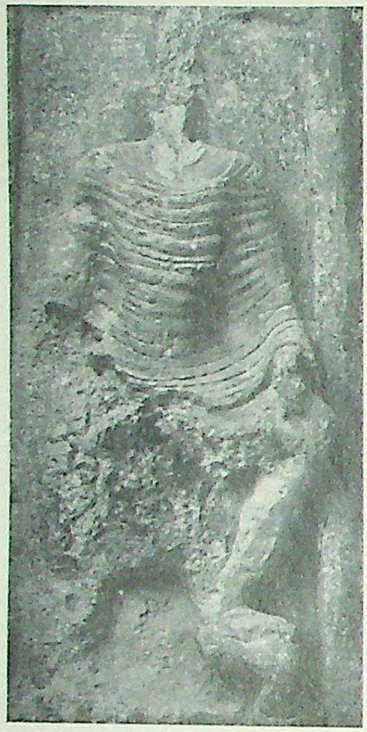
61. E 12.16 Men striking an adversary with a sword.



60. E 1.4 Unidentified figures.

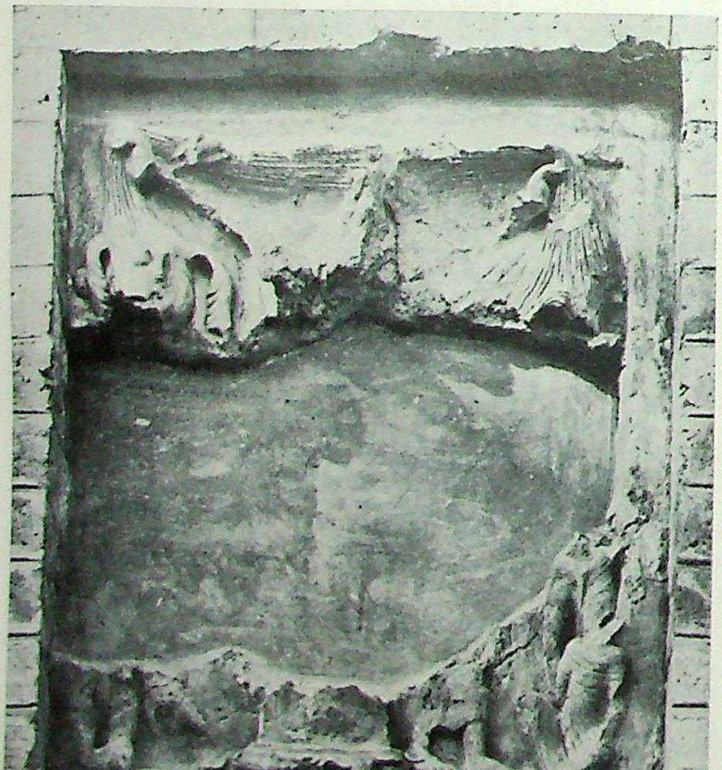


58. E 1.2 Gangā.

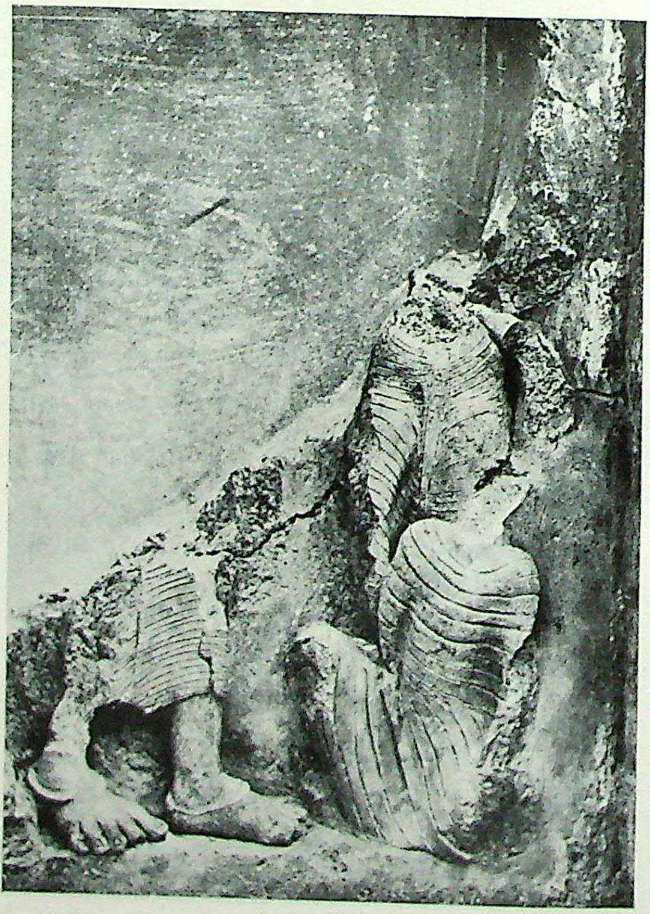


62. S 1.1 Ascetic.

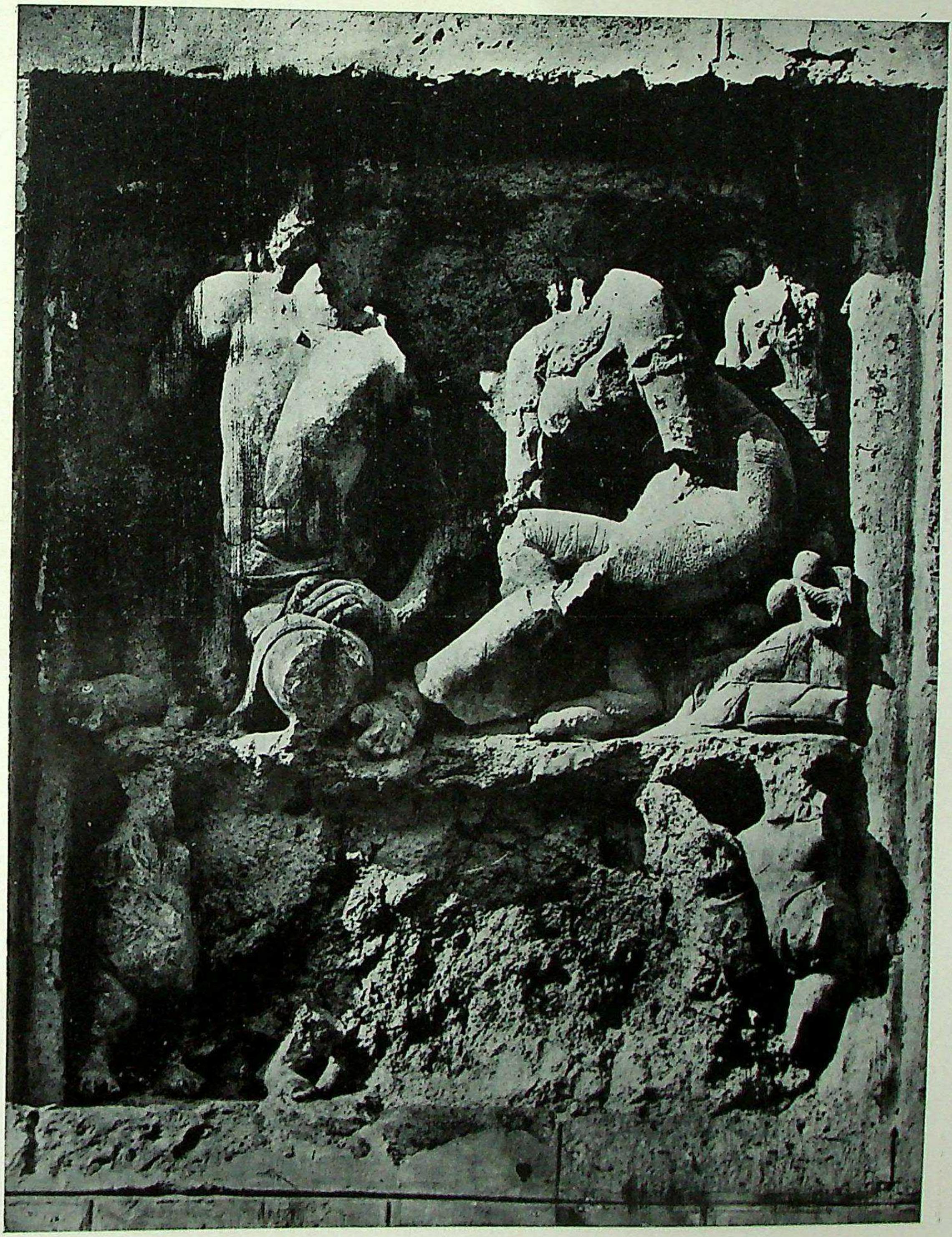
64. S 1.3 Gaṇesa



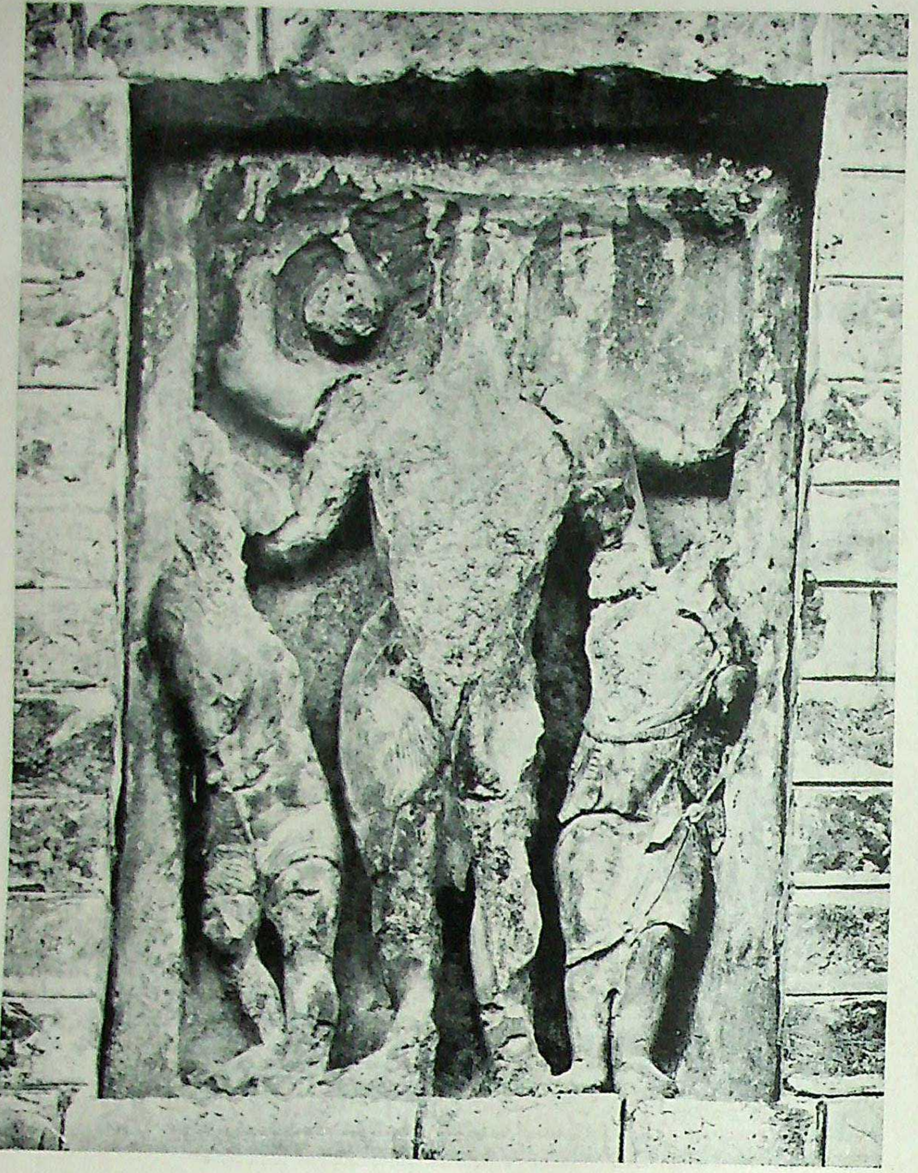
63. S 1.2 Śiva flaying elephant.



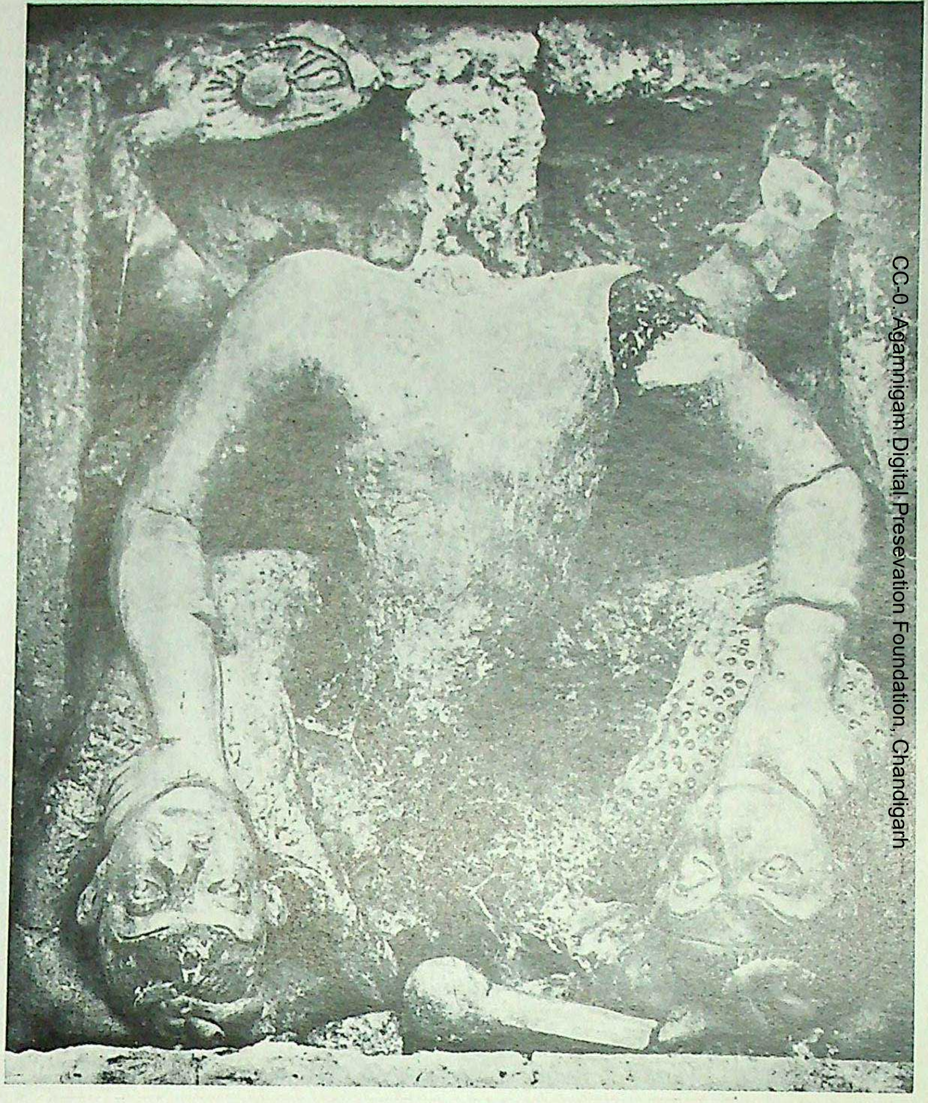
63.1. Detail from Fig. 63.



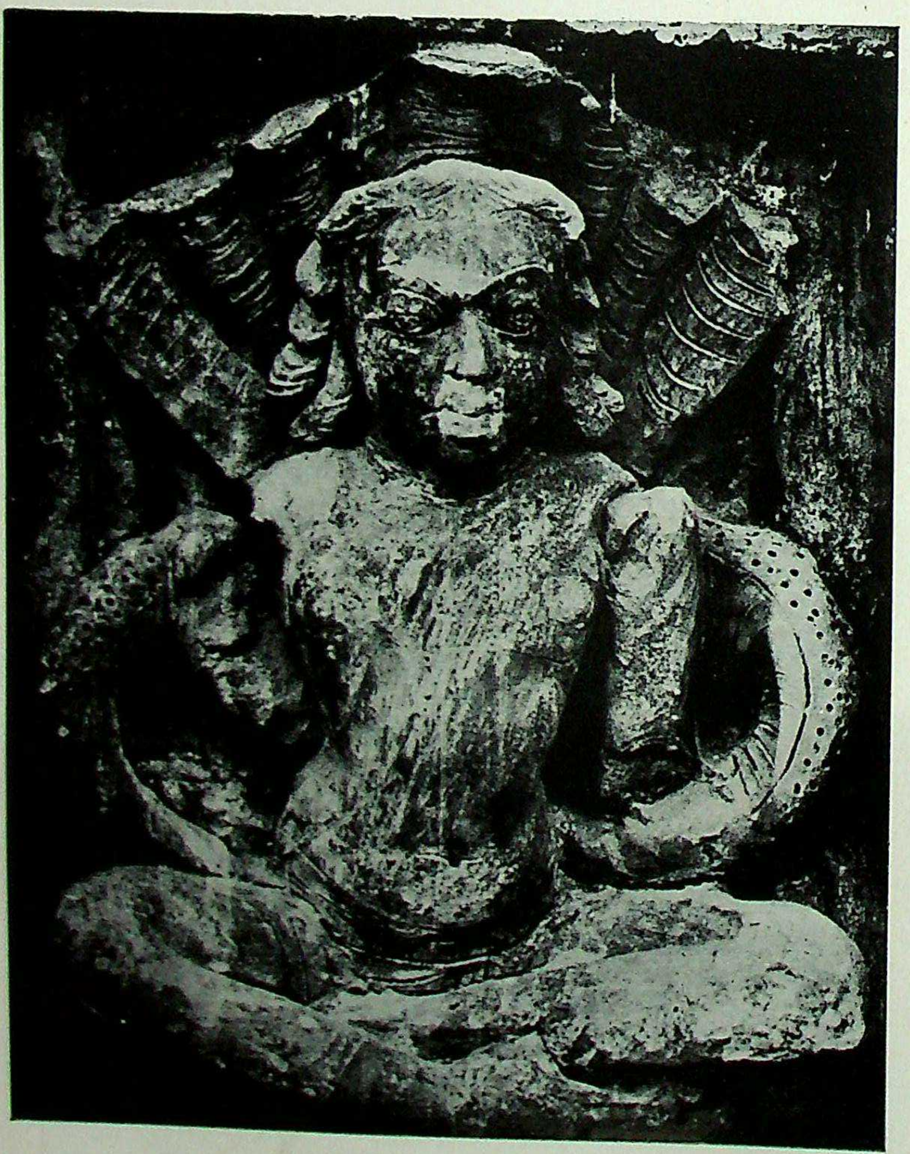
65. S 1.4 Śiva and Pārvatī.



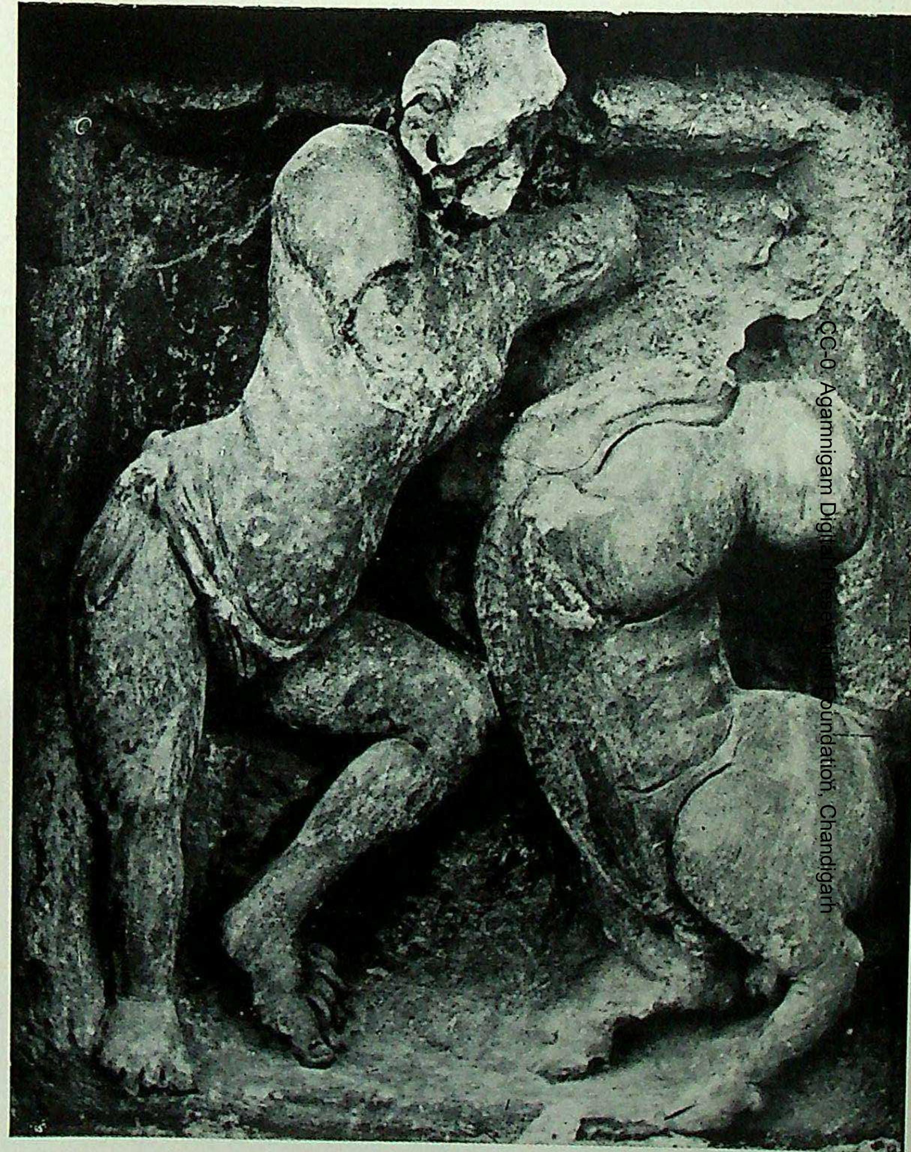
66. S 1.5 Viṣṇu with *Ayudhapurusas.*



67. S 3.25 Viṣṇu strangulating two demons.



68. S 3.26 Nāga deity.



69. S 3.27 Kṛṣṇa killing Vraṣabhāsura.

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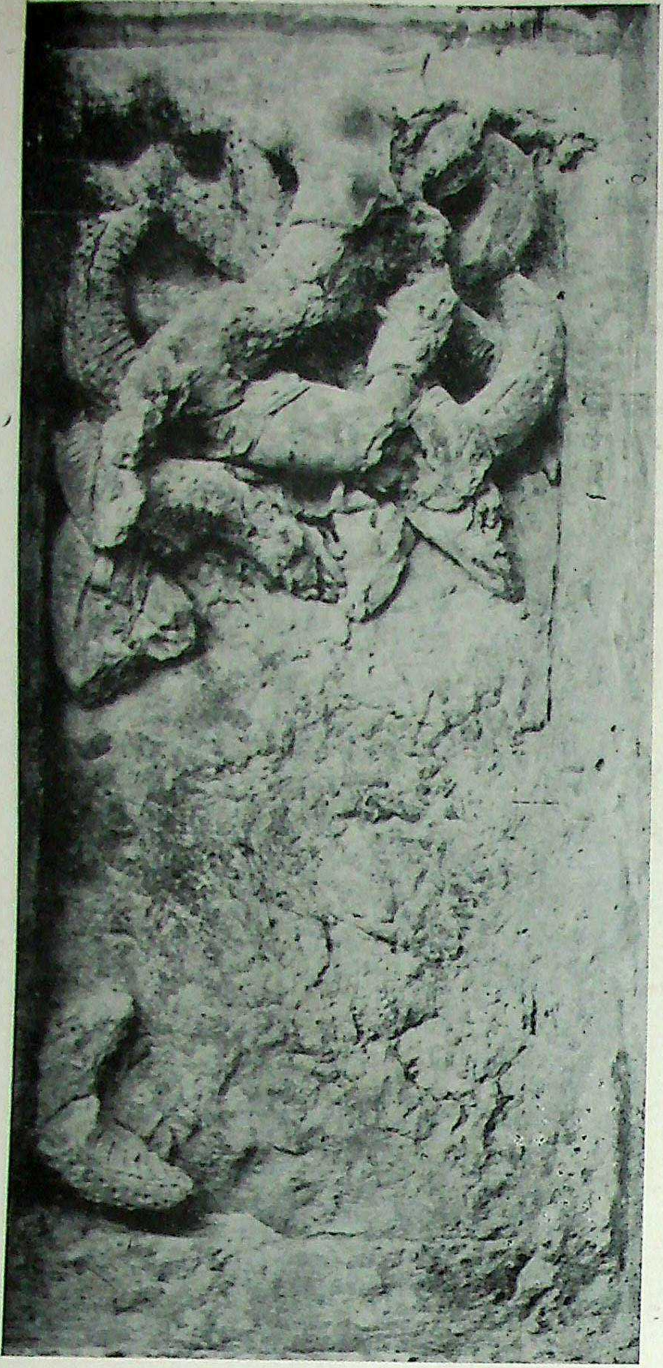
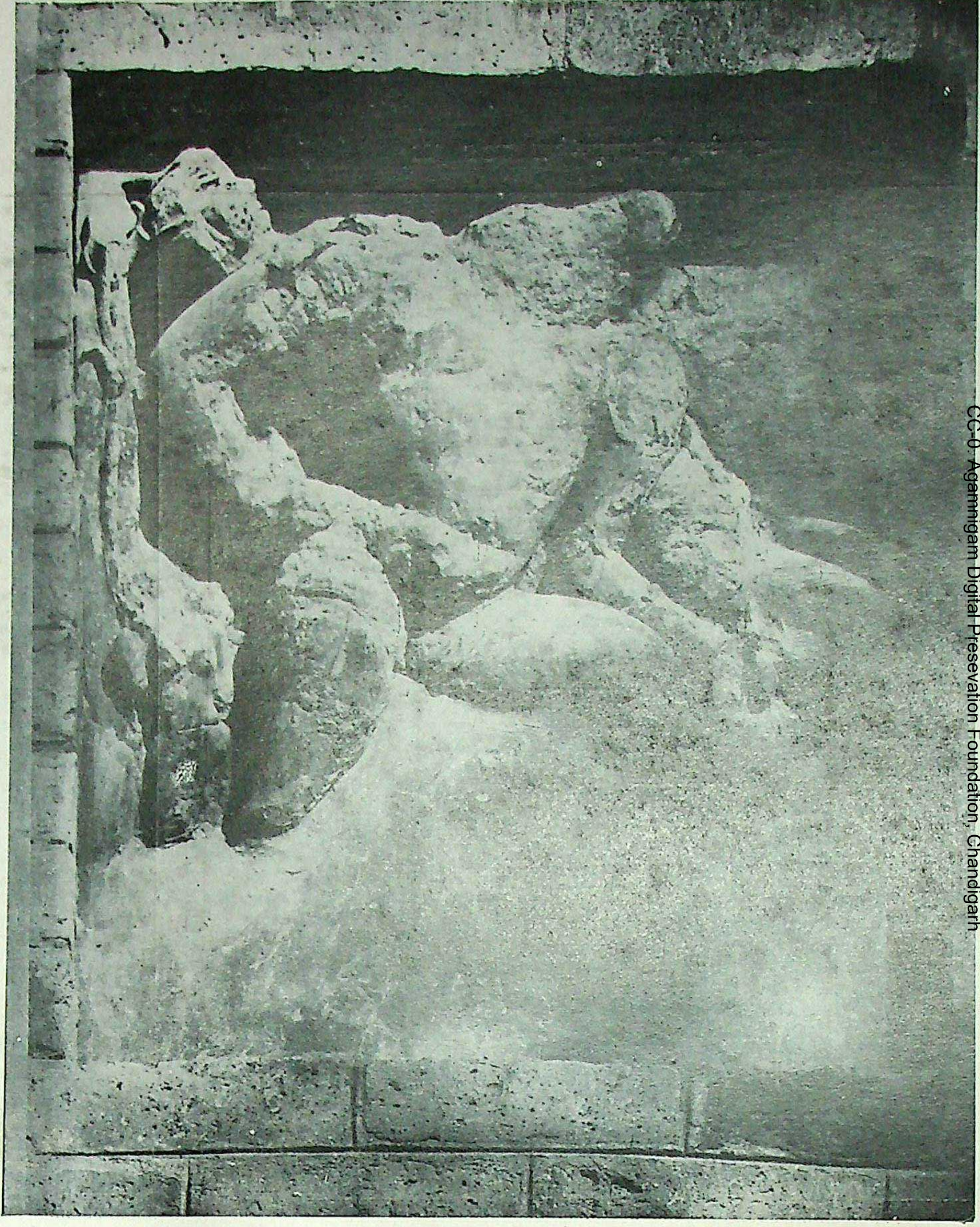
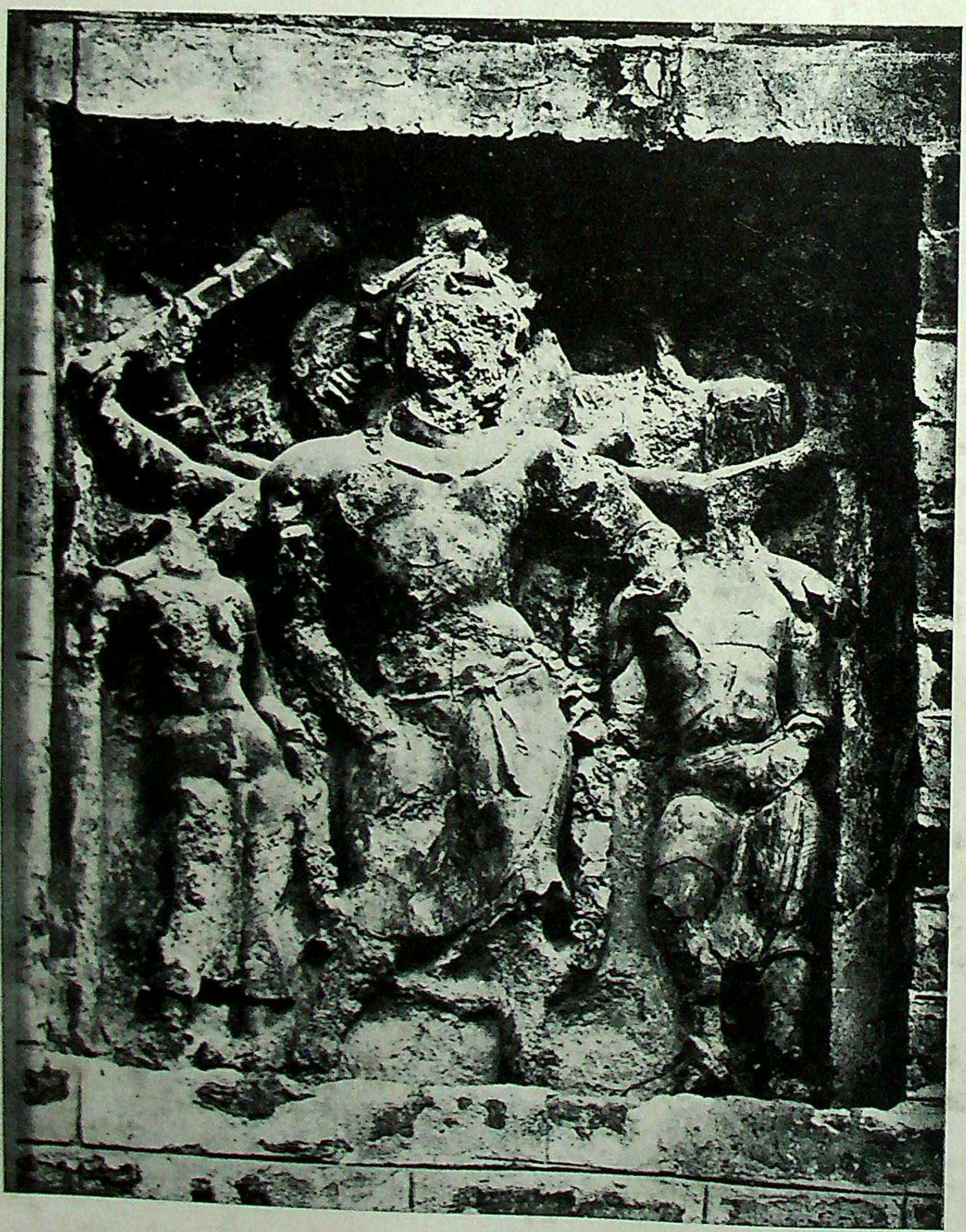


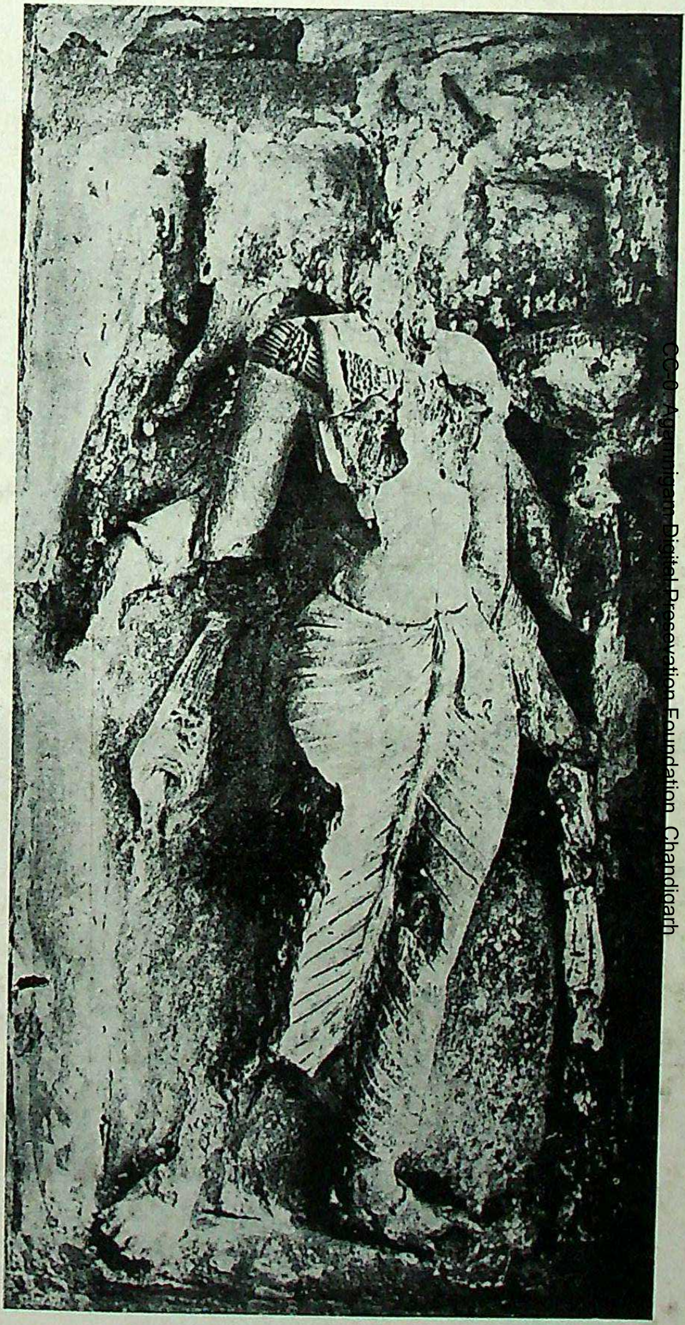
70. W 1.1 Nāga with recumbent figure.



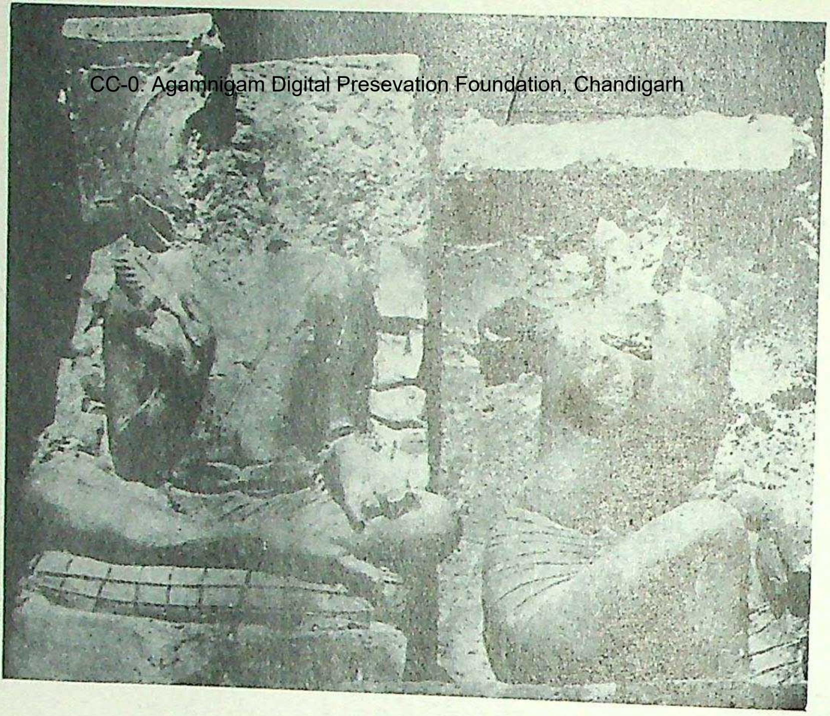
71. W 1.2 Viṣṇu as Varāha *Avatāra*,



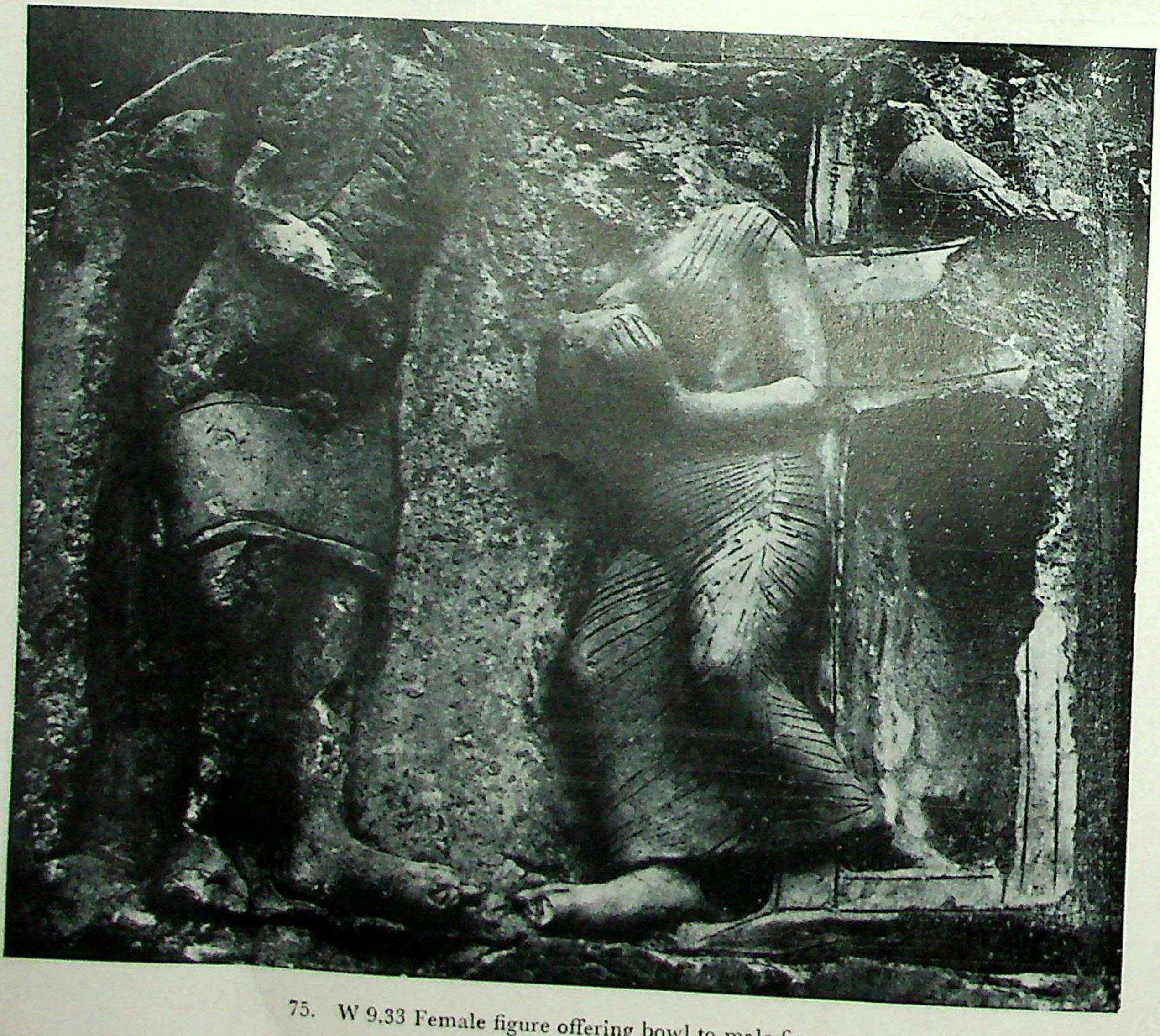
72. W 1.3 Viṣṇu with *Ayuddhapurusas.*



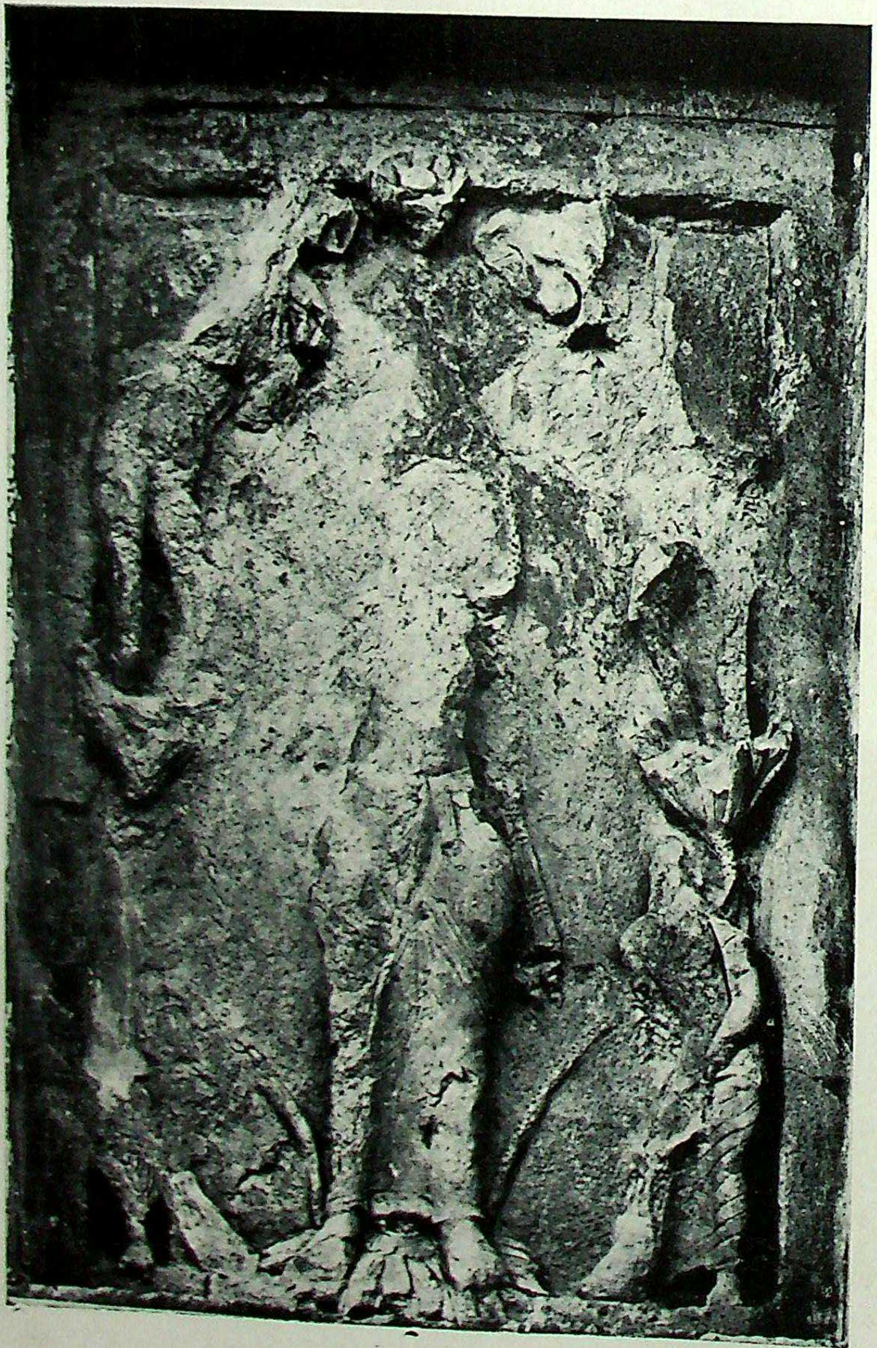
73. W 1.4 Four-armed goddess.



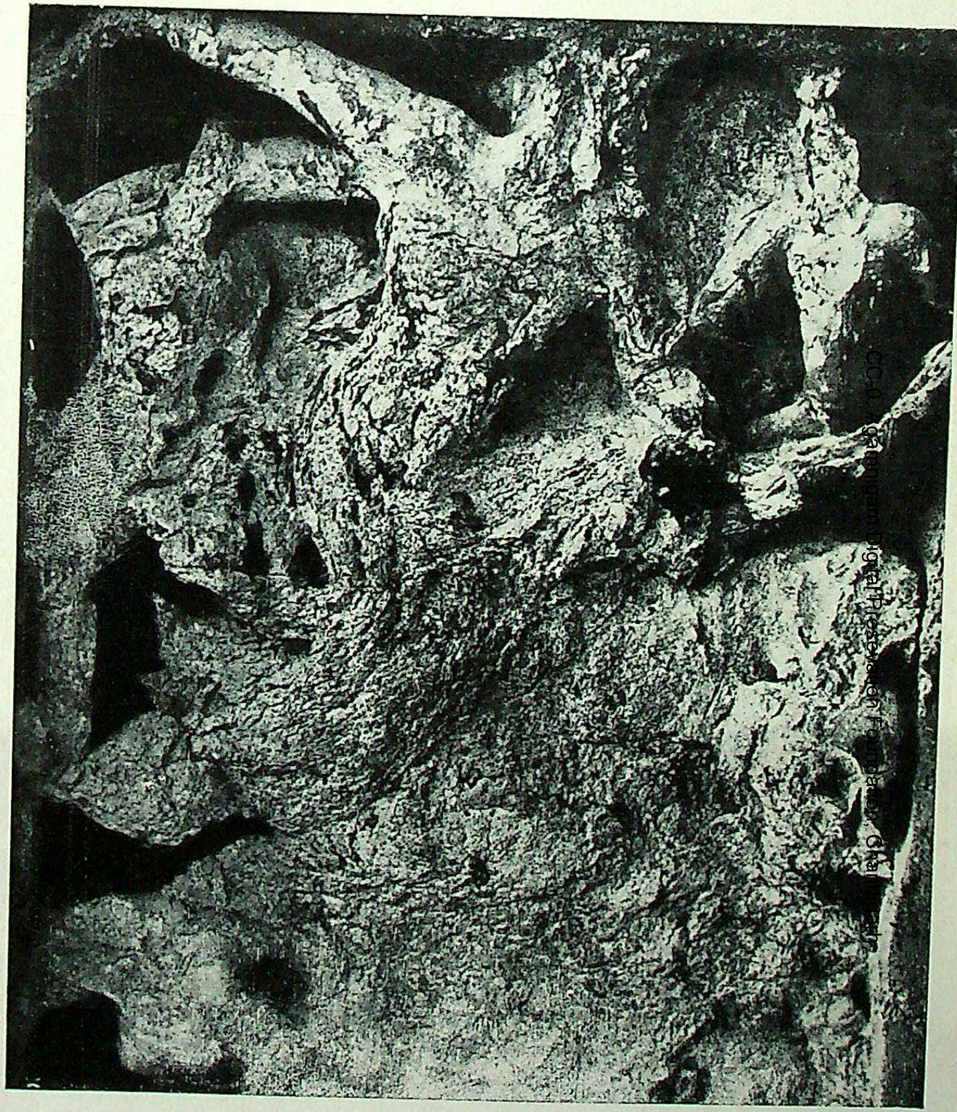
74. W 3.27 Rāma and Sitā.



75. W 9.33 Female figure offering bowl to male figure.



76. N 1.1 Gajalakṣmī.



77. N 1.2 Viṣṇu destroying demons.

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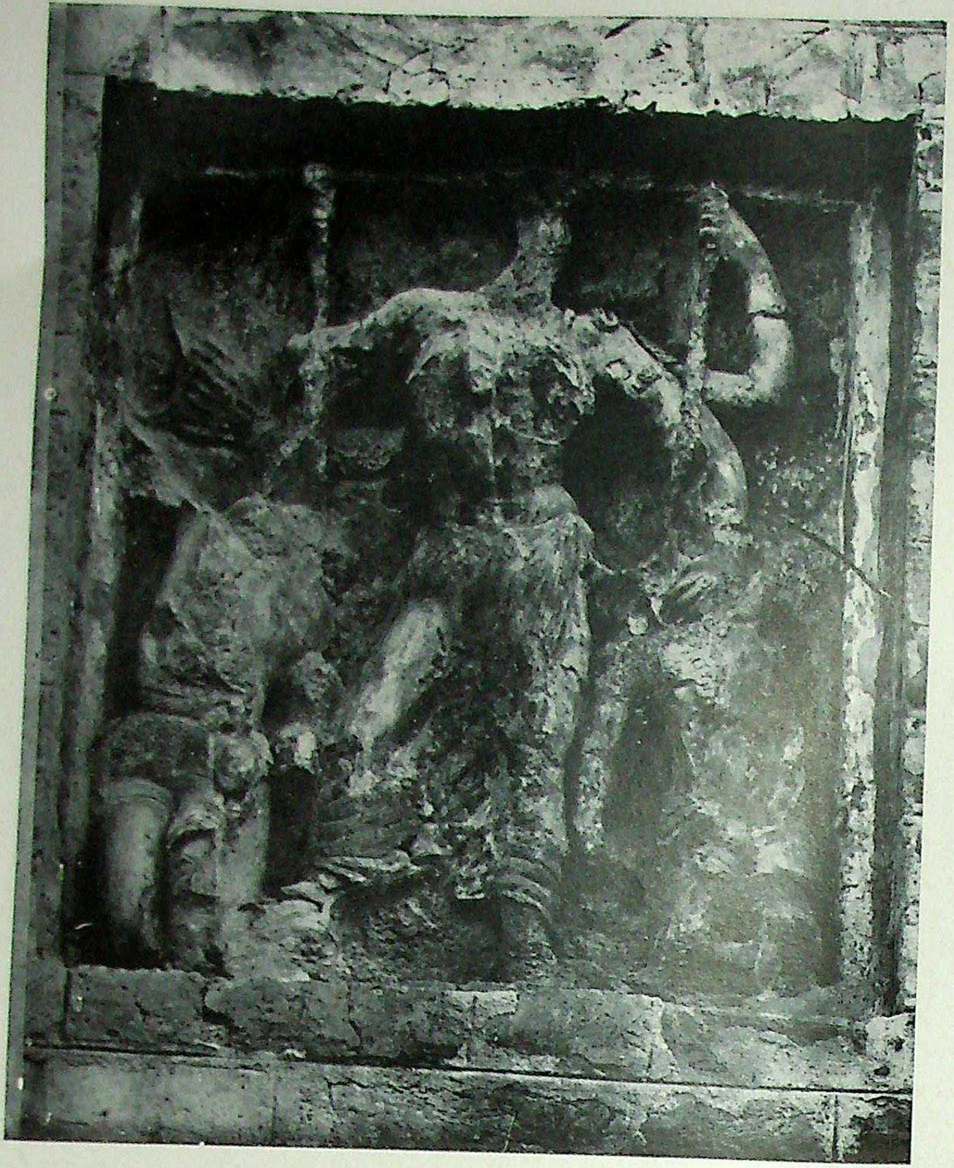
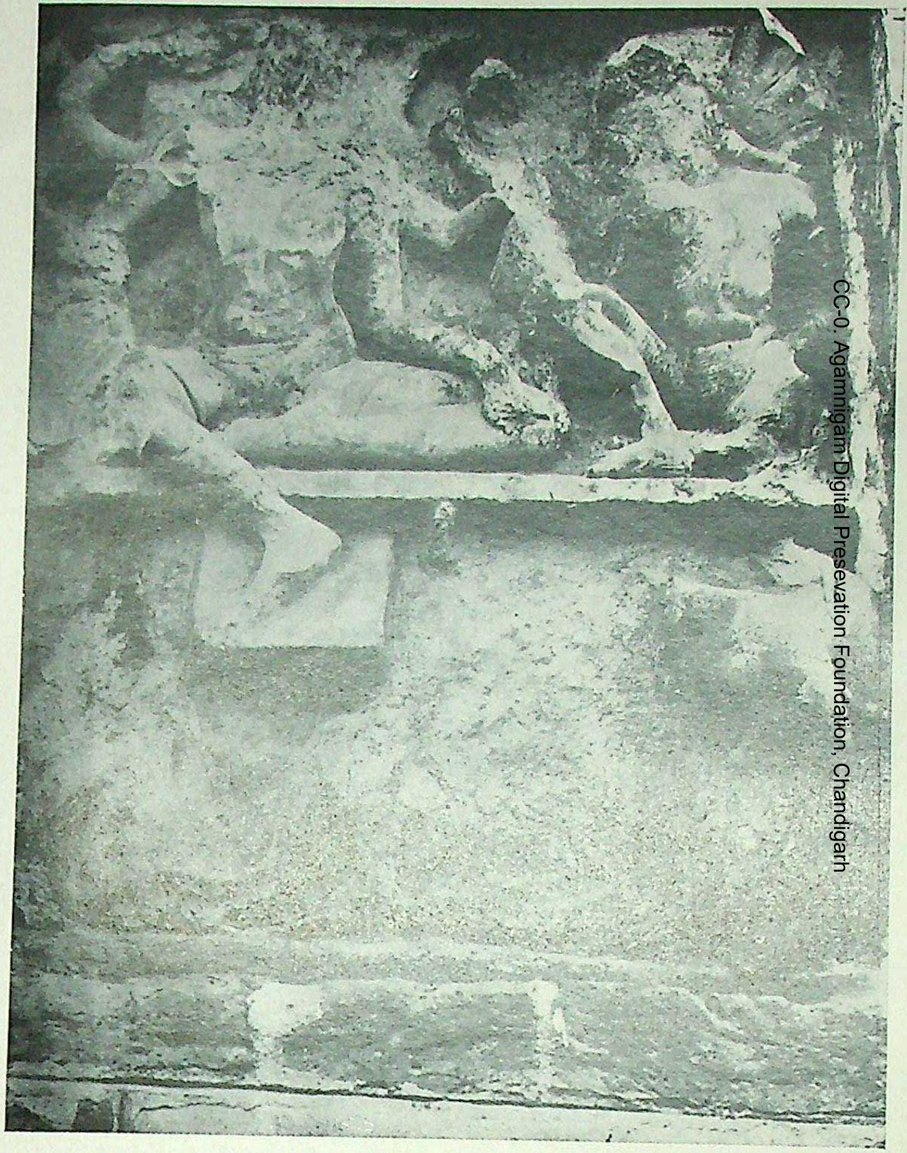
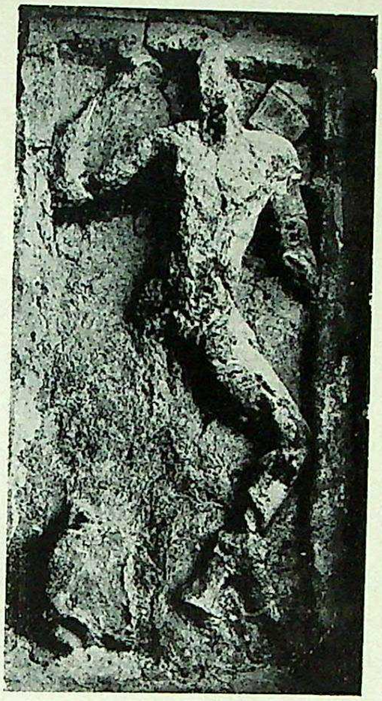


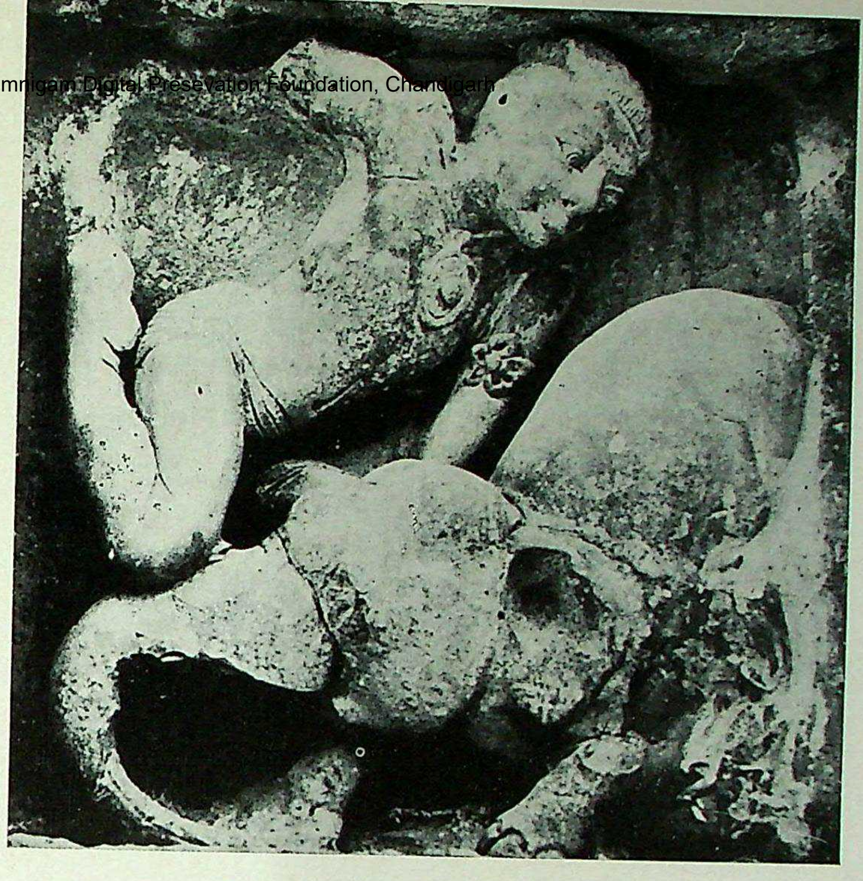
78. N 1.3 Durgā destroying demons.



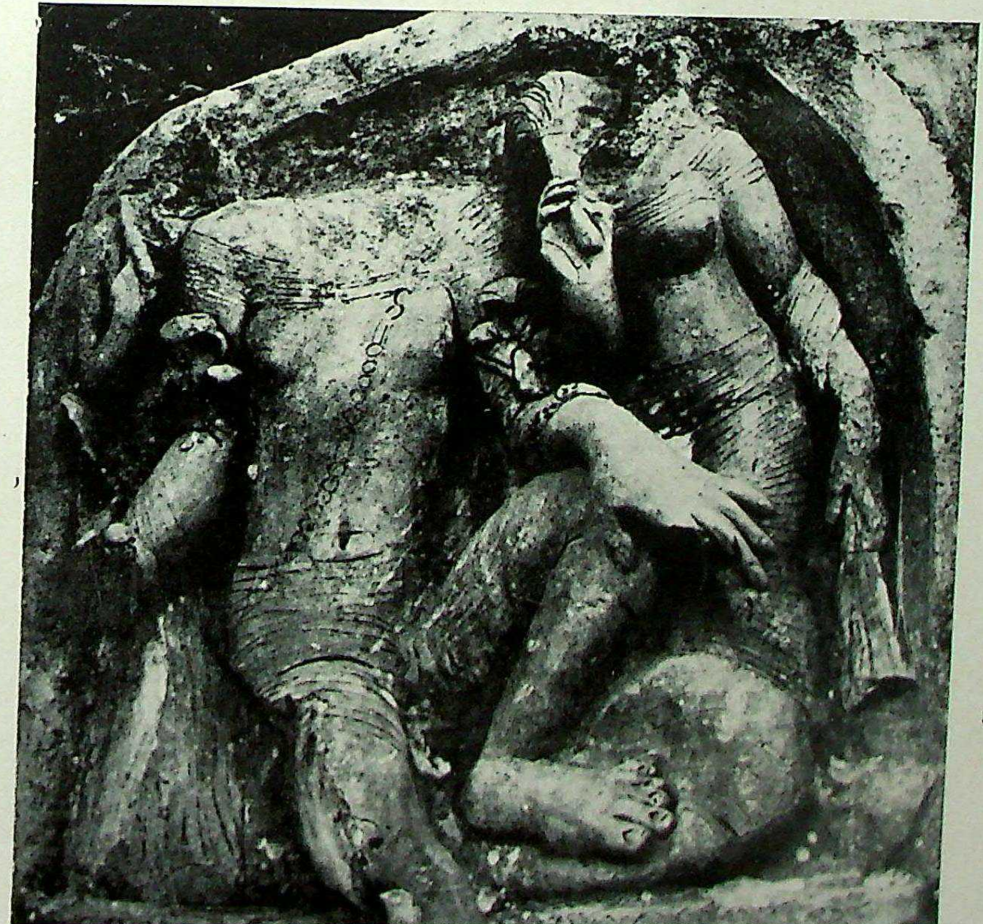
79. N 1.4 Kṛṣṇa and Balārama.



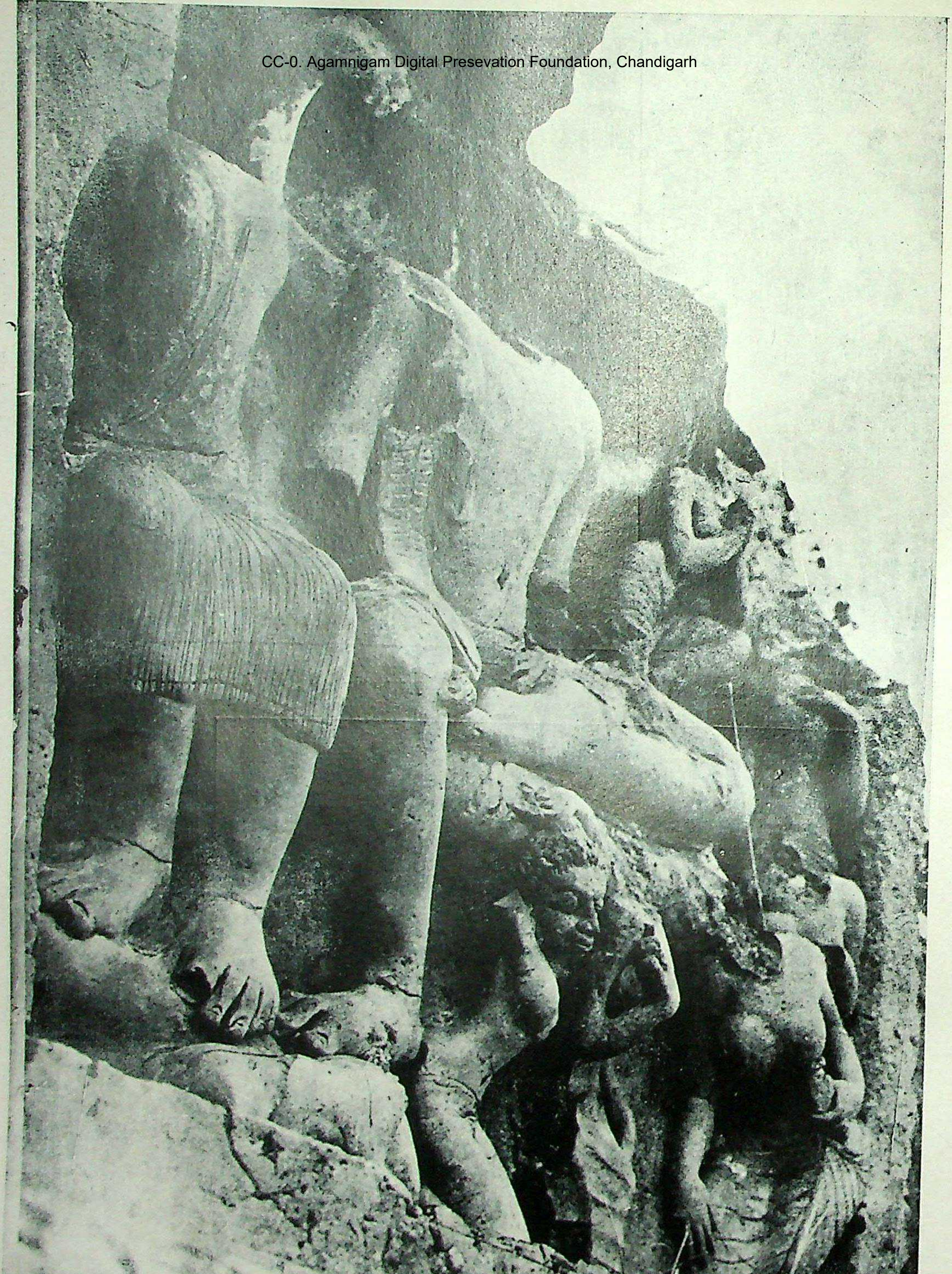
80. N 1.5 Archer.



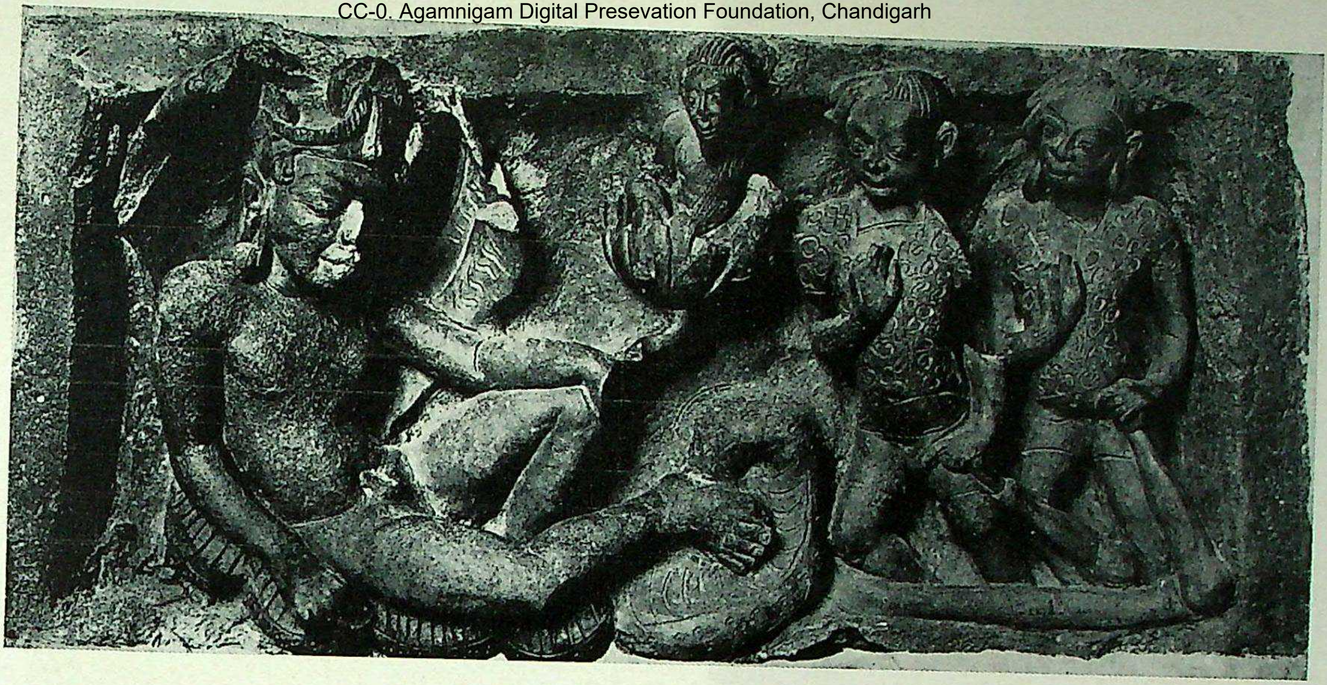
81. N 3.27 Kṛṣṇa slaying elephant Kuvalayāpīdha.



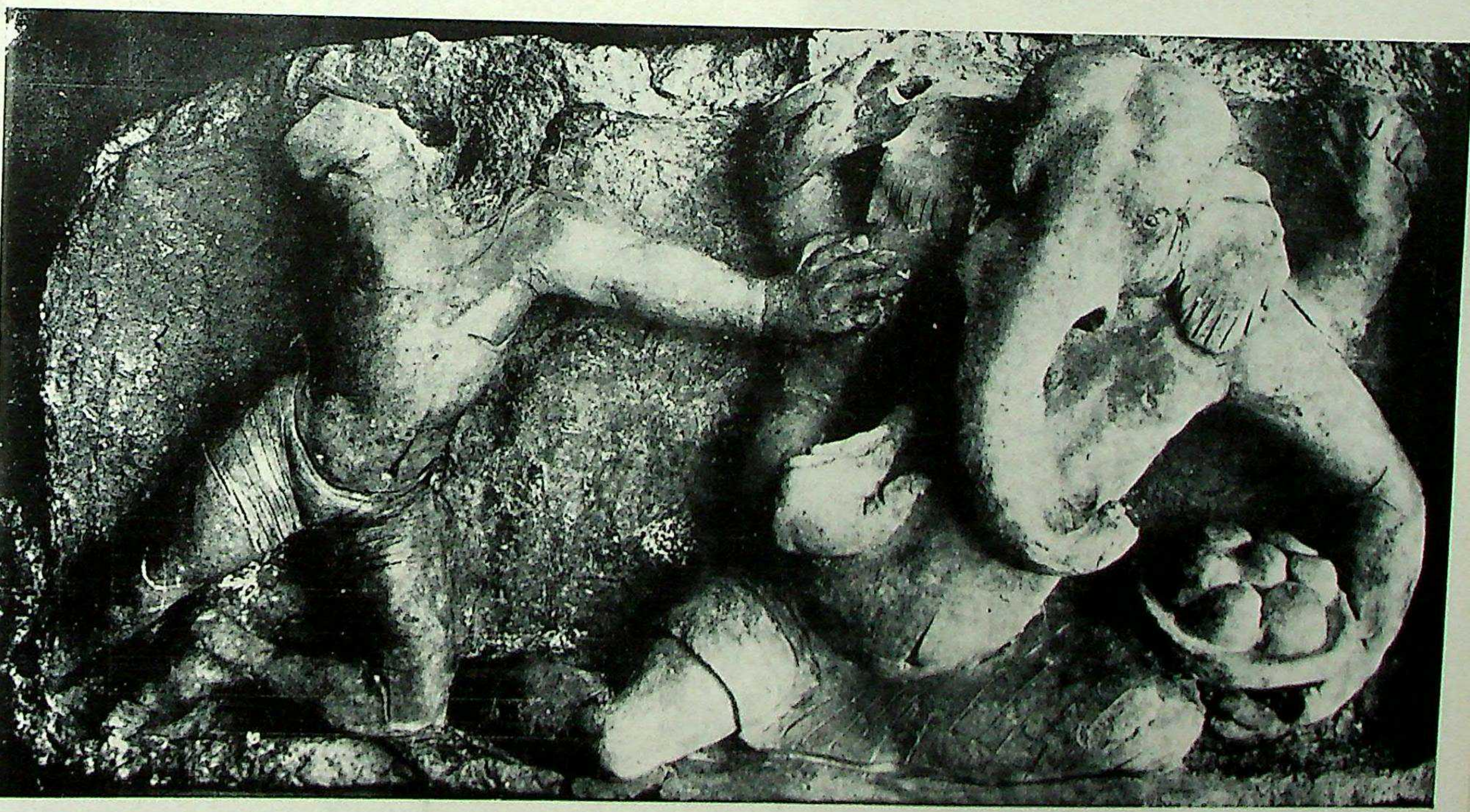
82. N 9.39 Male figure with two female attendants.



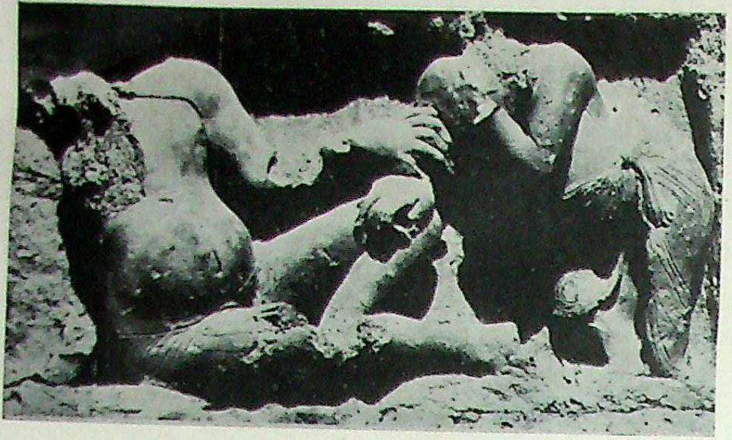
83. N 9.40 Temptation of Nara Nārāyana.



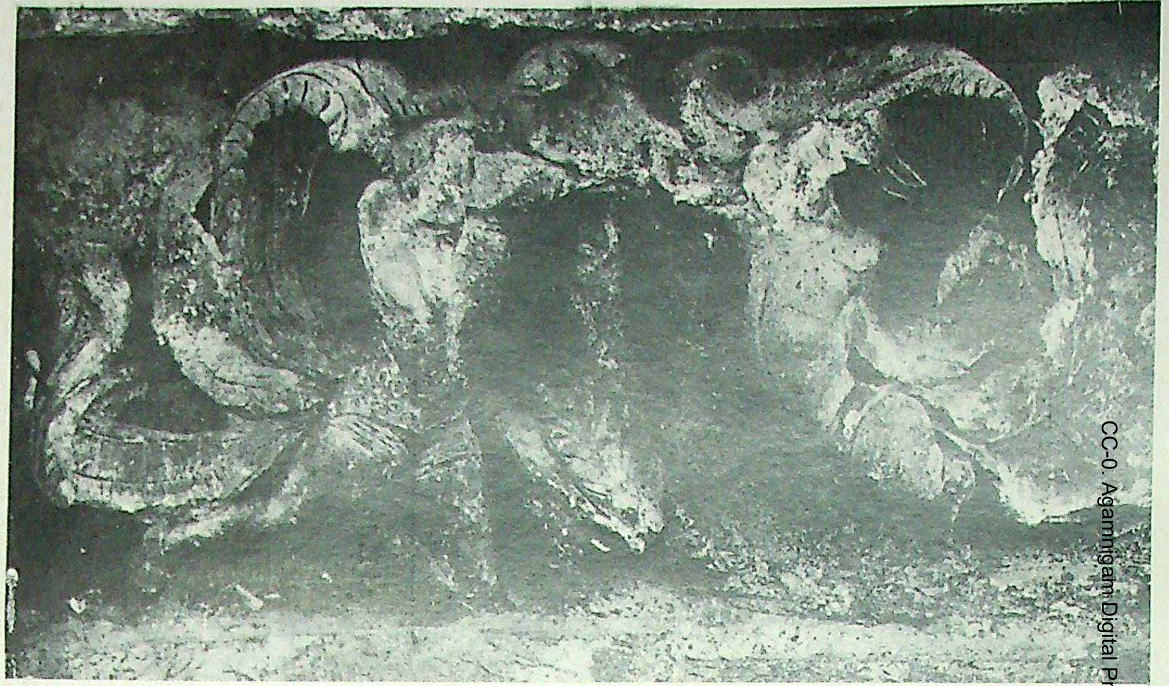
84. 806 IMC Viṣṇu with Madhu and Kaitabha.



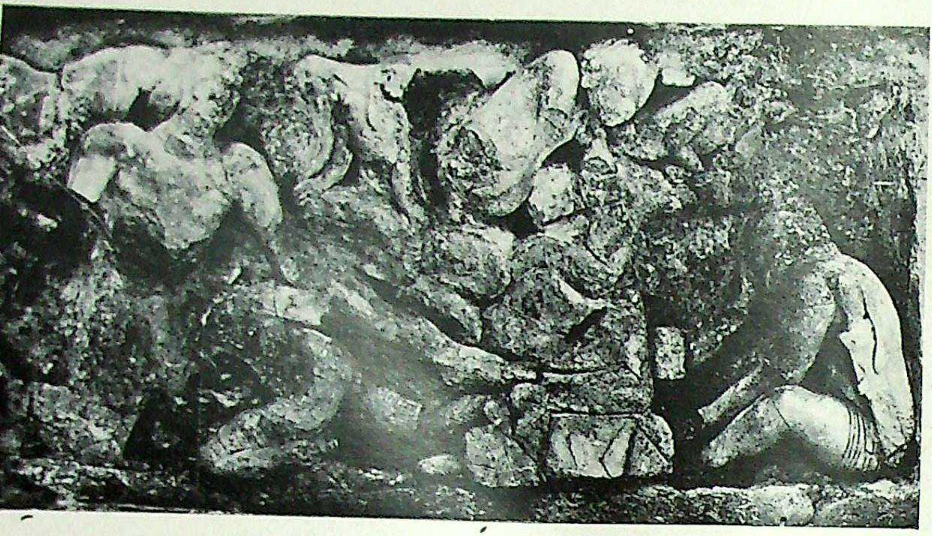
85. 2026 SML Gaṇeśa with a platter of sweets.



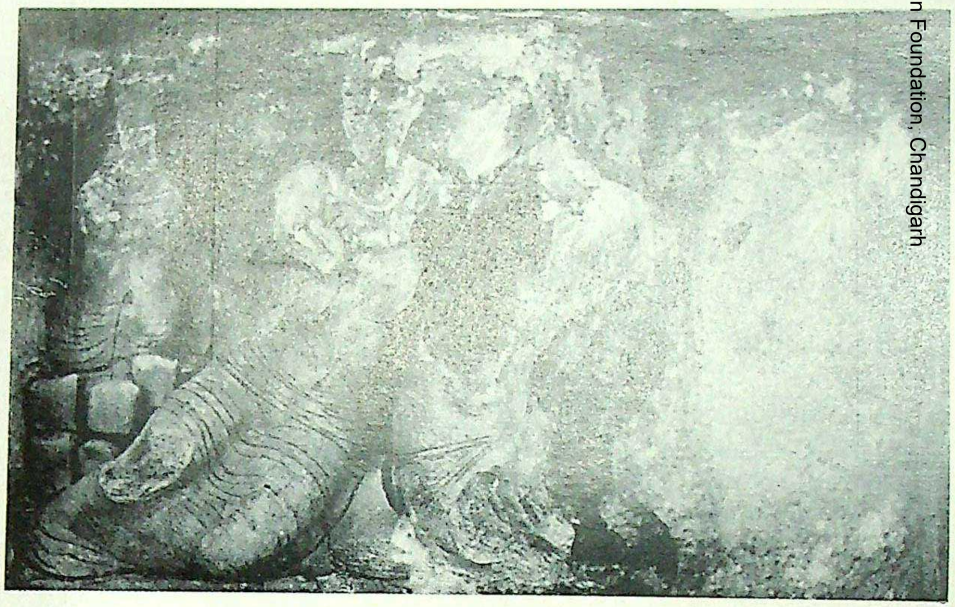
86. W 2.17 Two male figures.



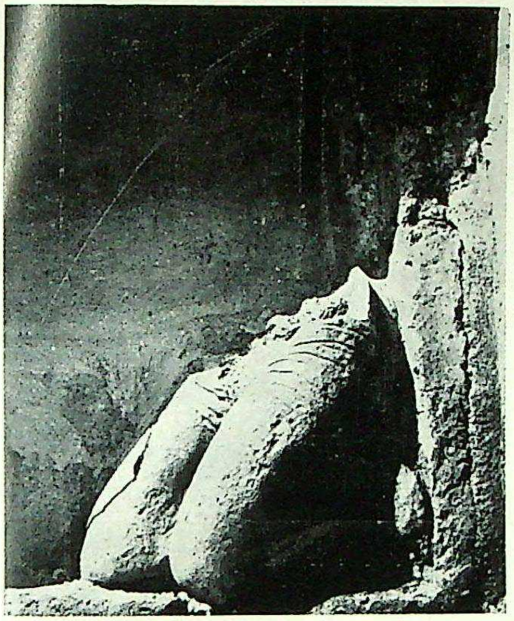
87. N 2,13 Two foliated human figures.



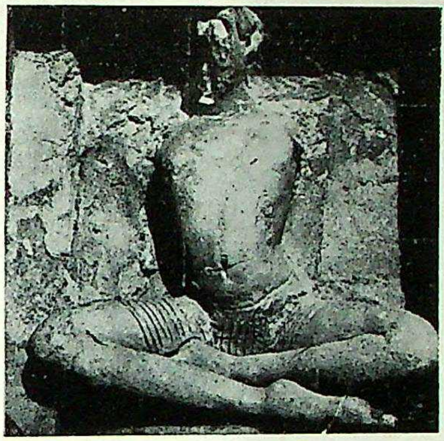
88. N 2.21 Human figures.



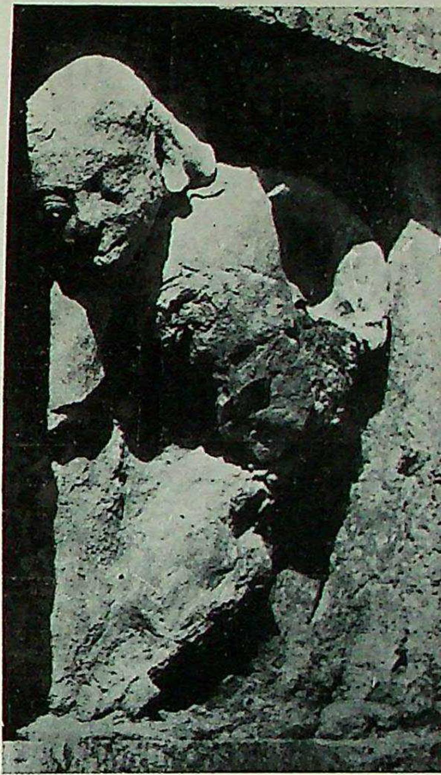
89. N 2.22 Woman with two other figures.



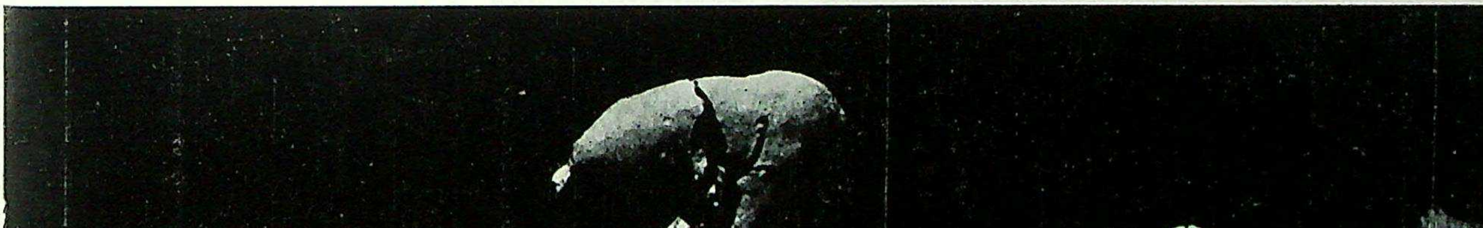
90. E 3.11 Legs of kneeling figure.



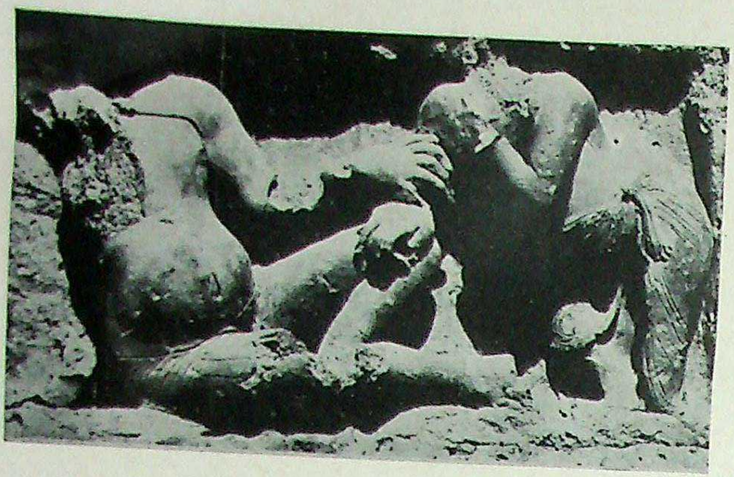
91. E 3.15 Seated male figure.



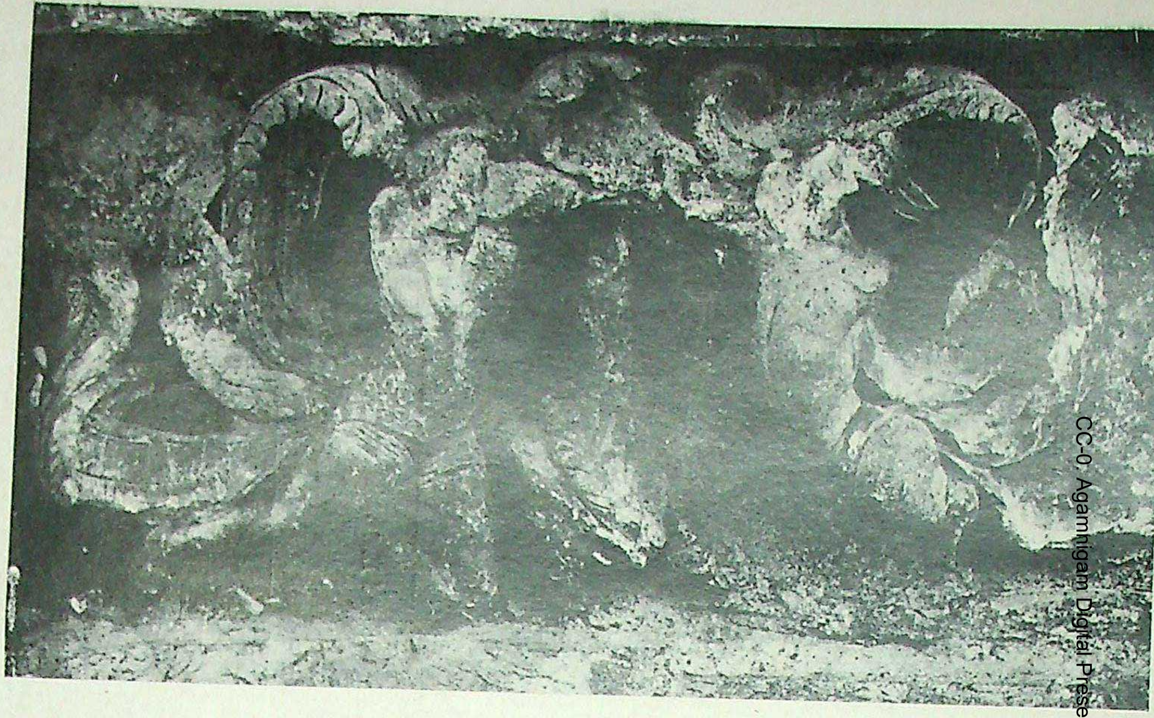
92. S 3.28 Kneeling figure.



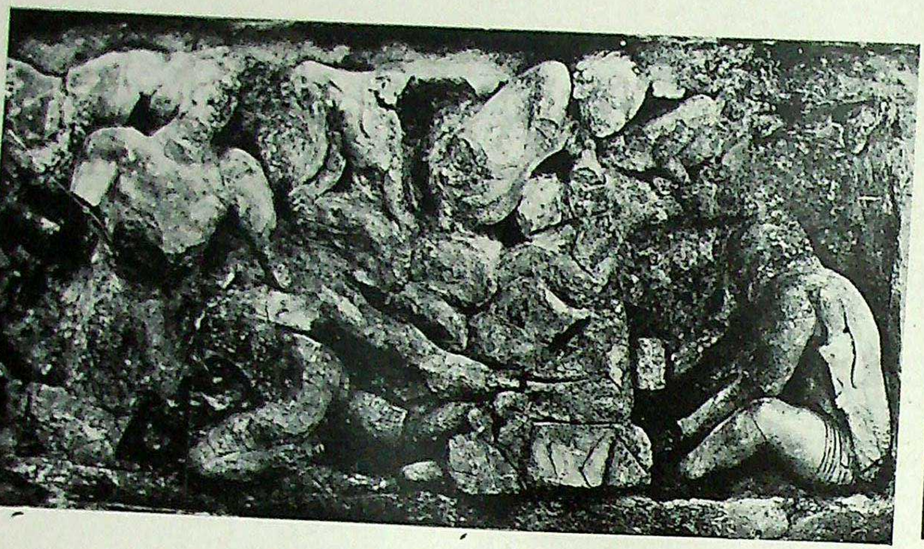
93. W 2.8 *Gana.*



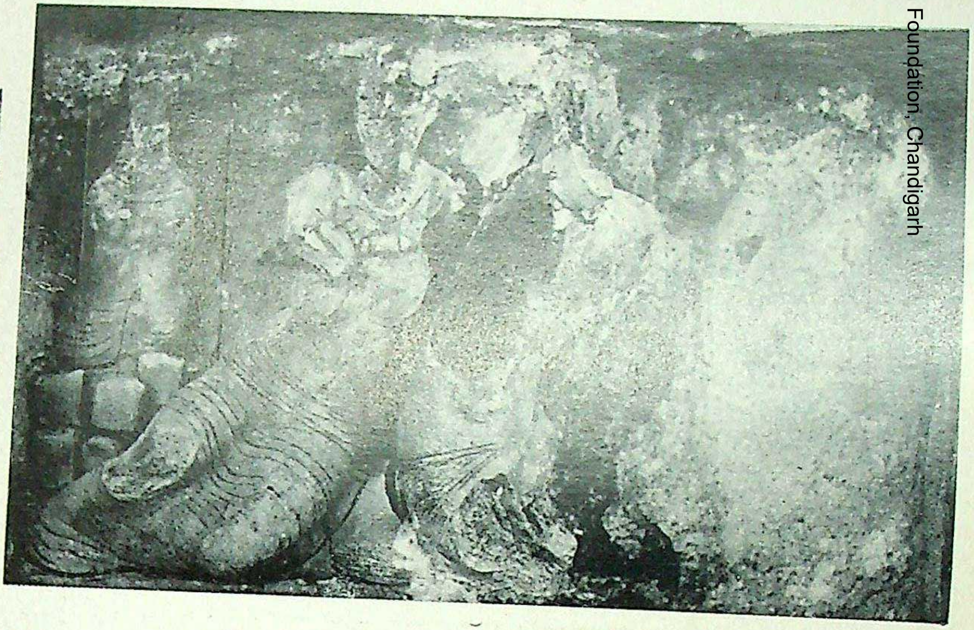
86. W 2.17 Two male figures.



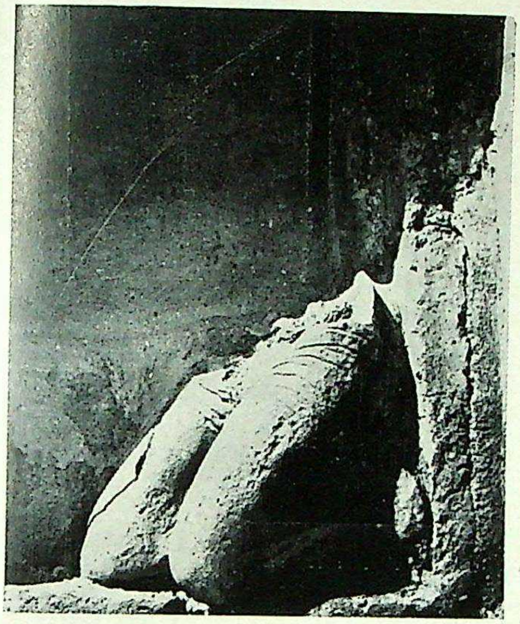
87. N 2.13 Two foliated human figures.



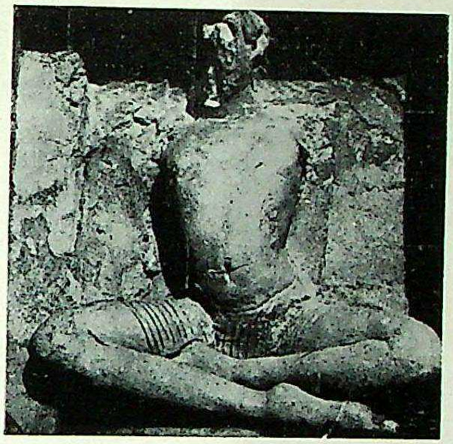
88. N 2.21 Human figures.



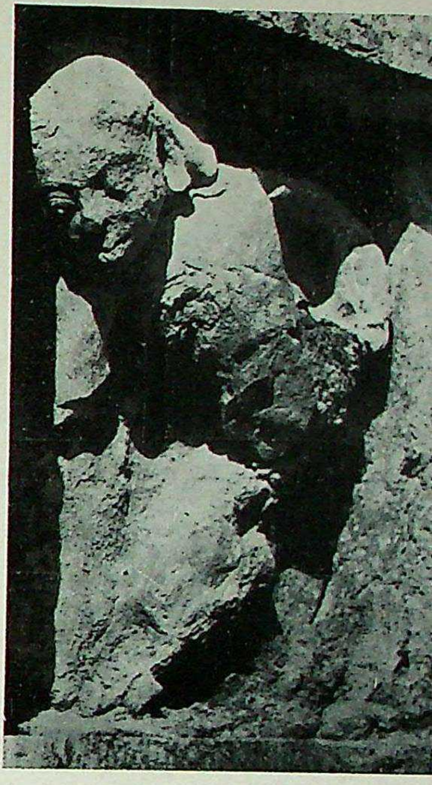
89. N 2.22 Woman with two other figures.



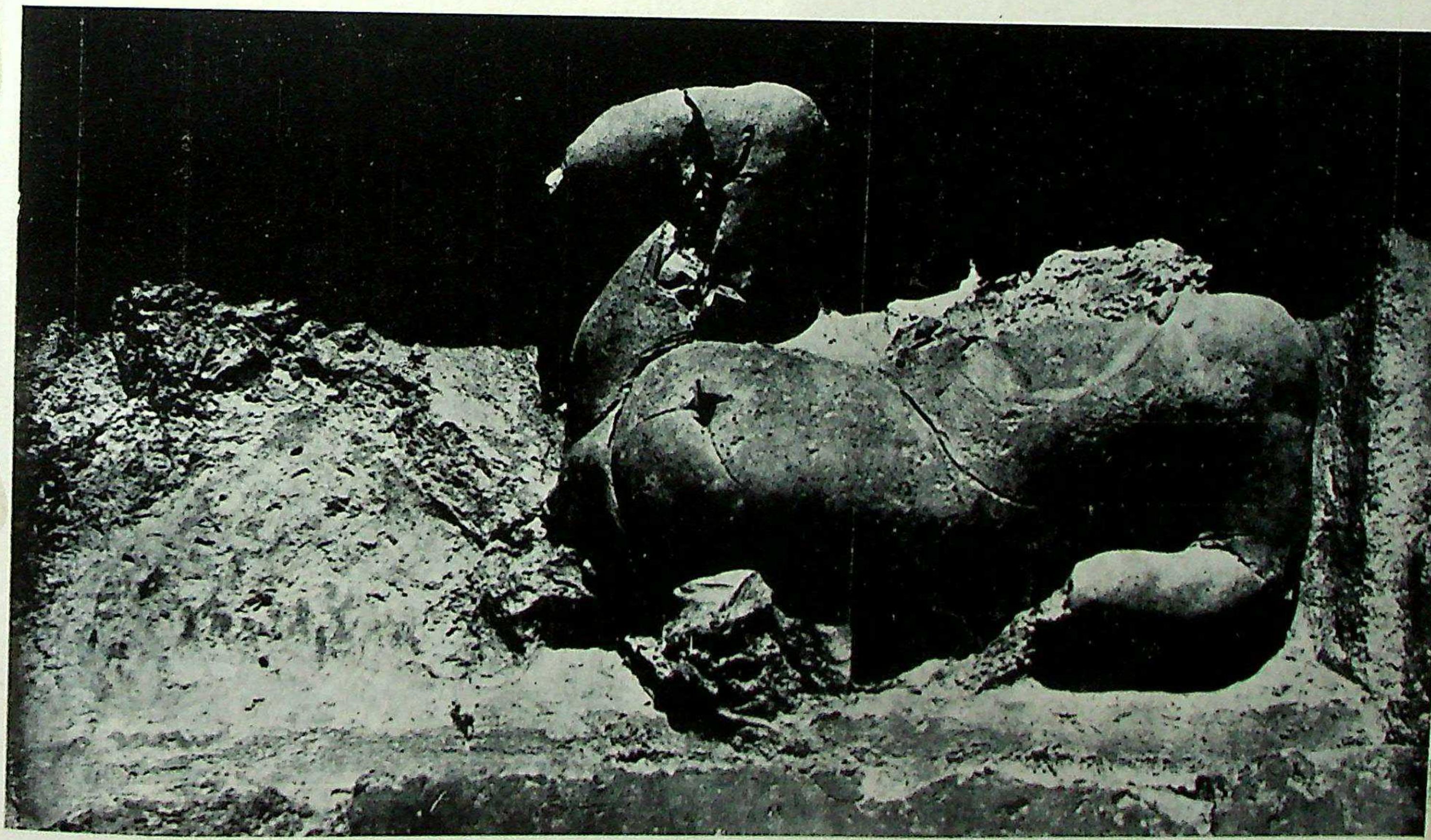
90. E 3.11 Legs of kneeling figure.



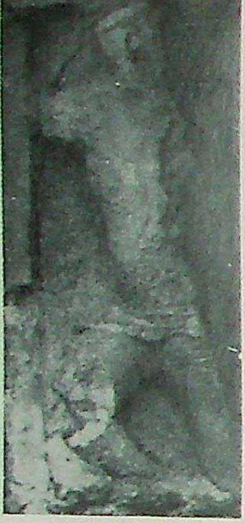
91. E 3.15 Seated male figure.



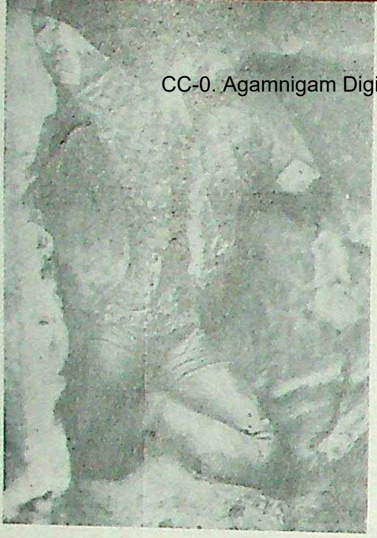
92. S 3.28 Kneeling figure.



93. W 2.8 *Gana.*



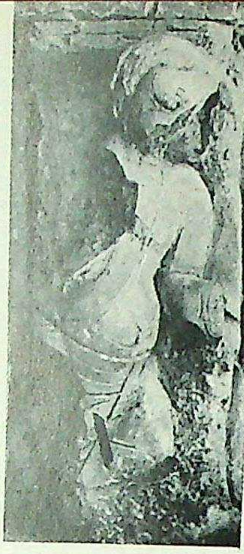
94. W 2.10 Standing figure.



95. W 2.11 Warrior in coat of mail.

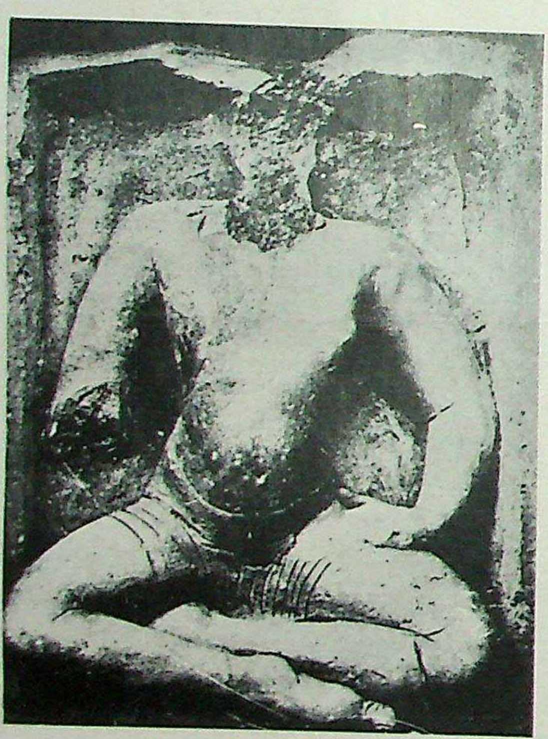
96. W 2.13 Warrior in coat of mail.

97. N 2.12 Standing figure.

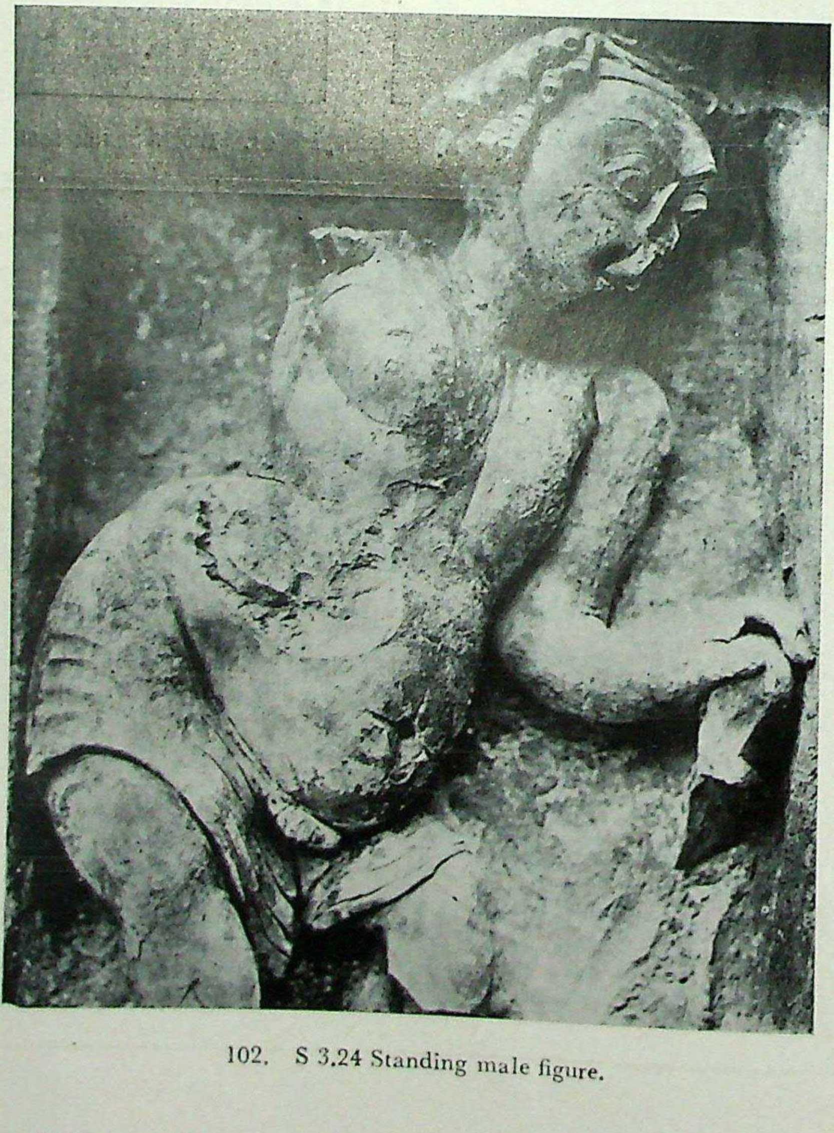


98. N 2.18 Standing figure.

99. N 2.20 Standing male figure.

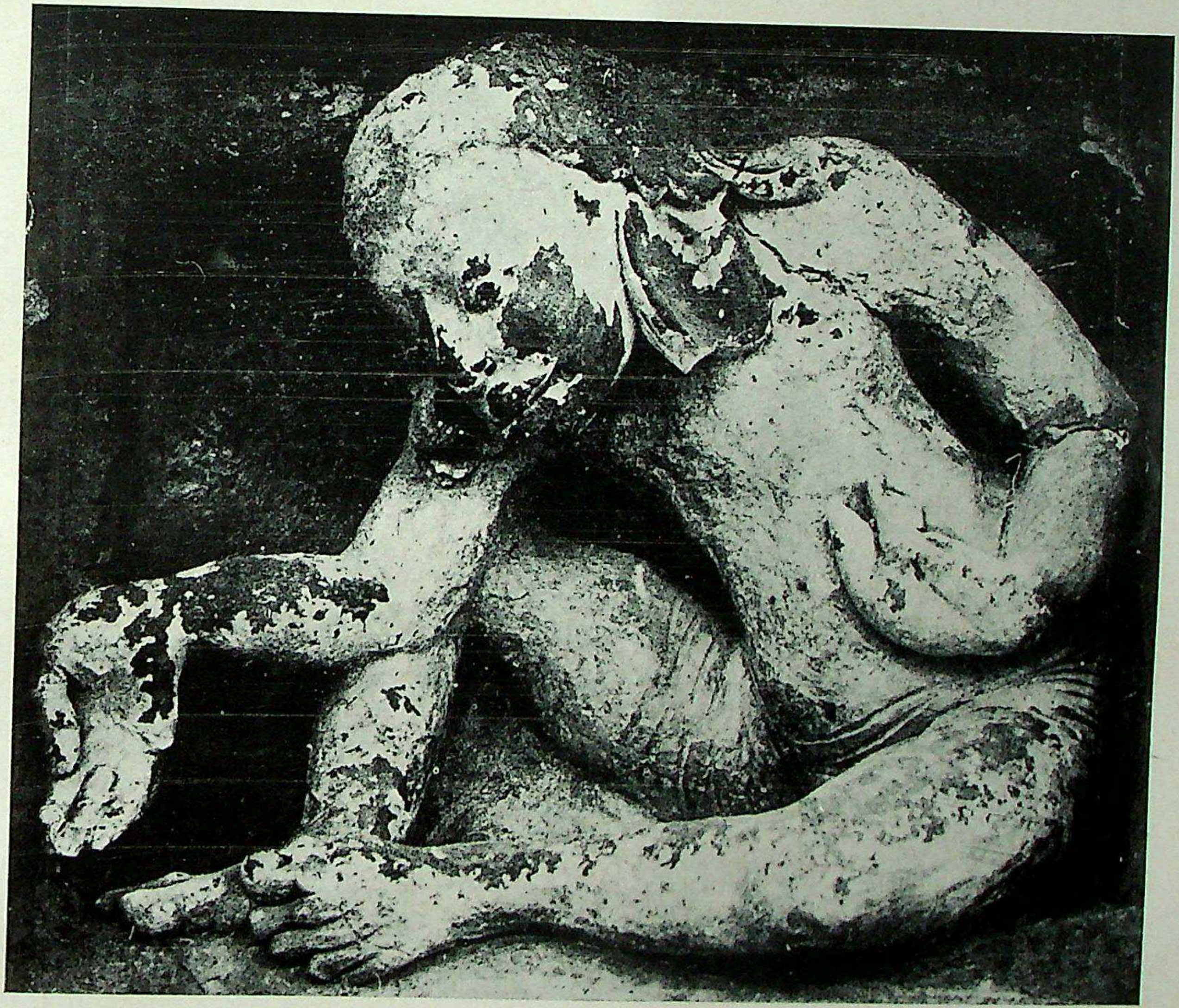


100. N 3.25 Seated male figure.

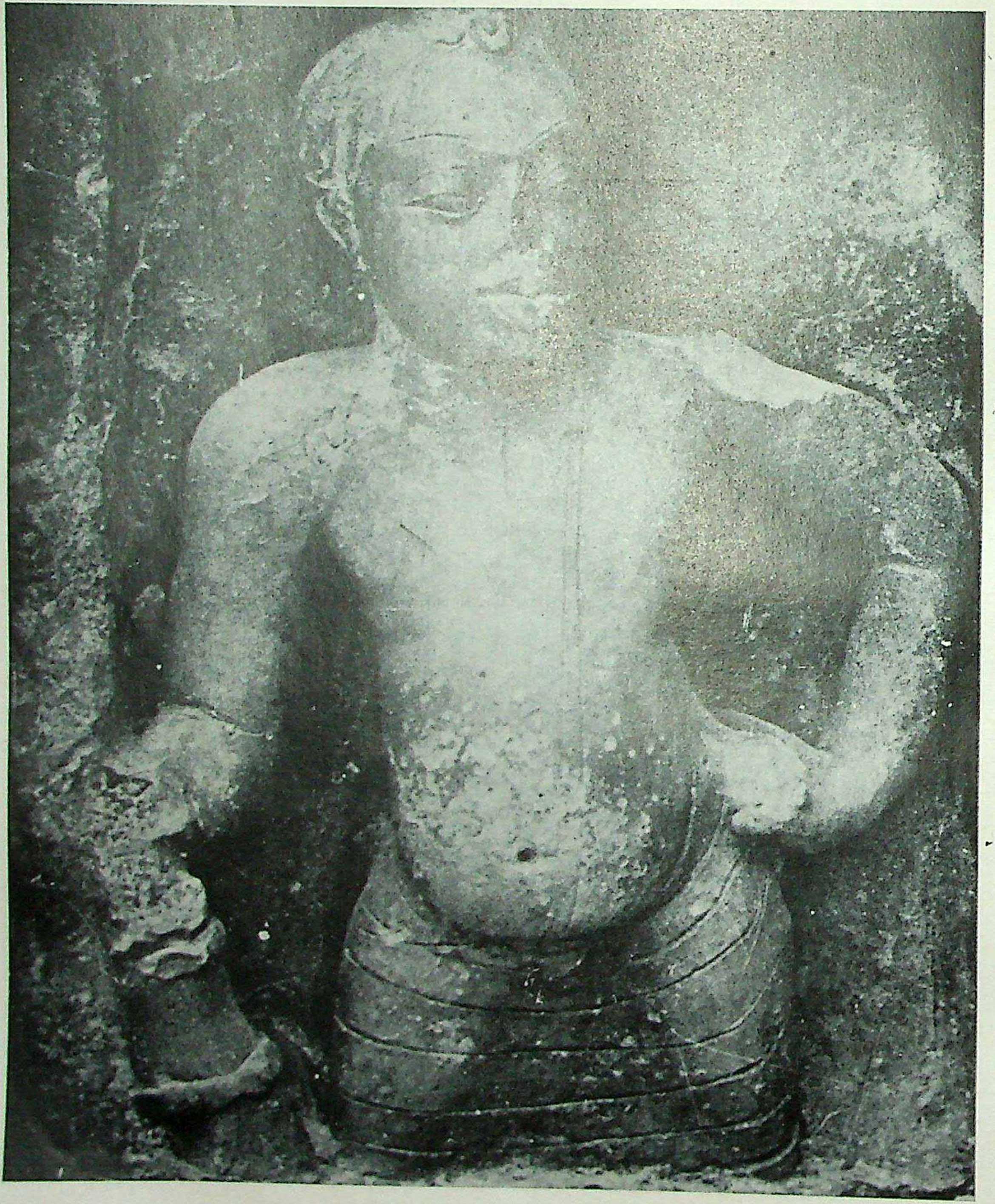


102. S 3.24 Standing male figure.

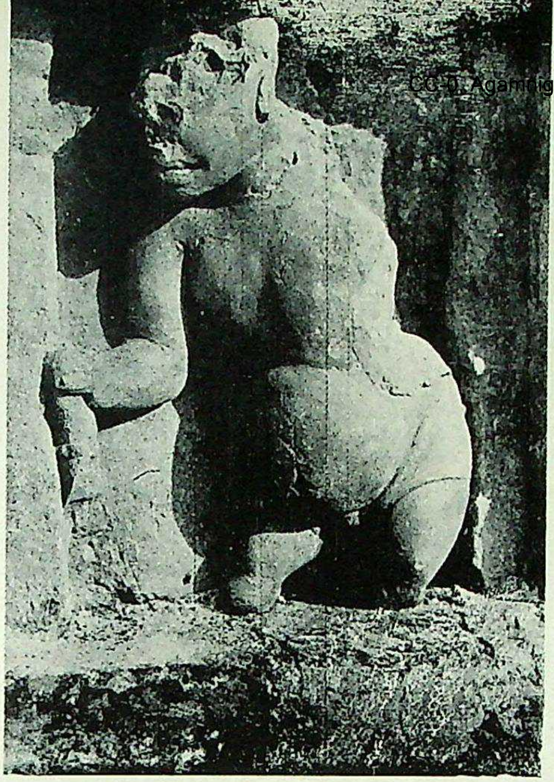
101. N 8.36 Seated male figure with legs crossed.



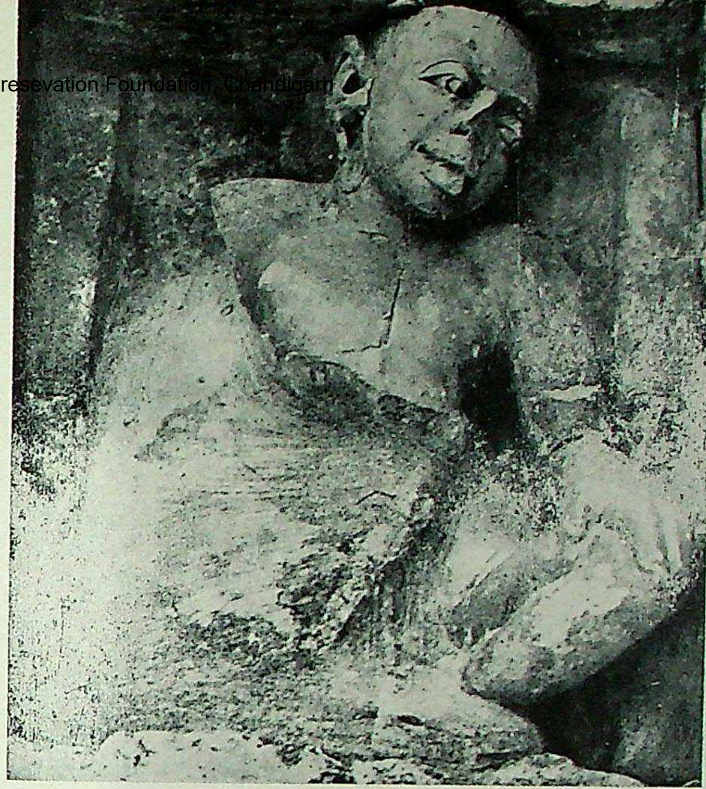
103. S 13.38 Seated male figure.



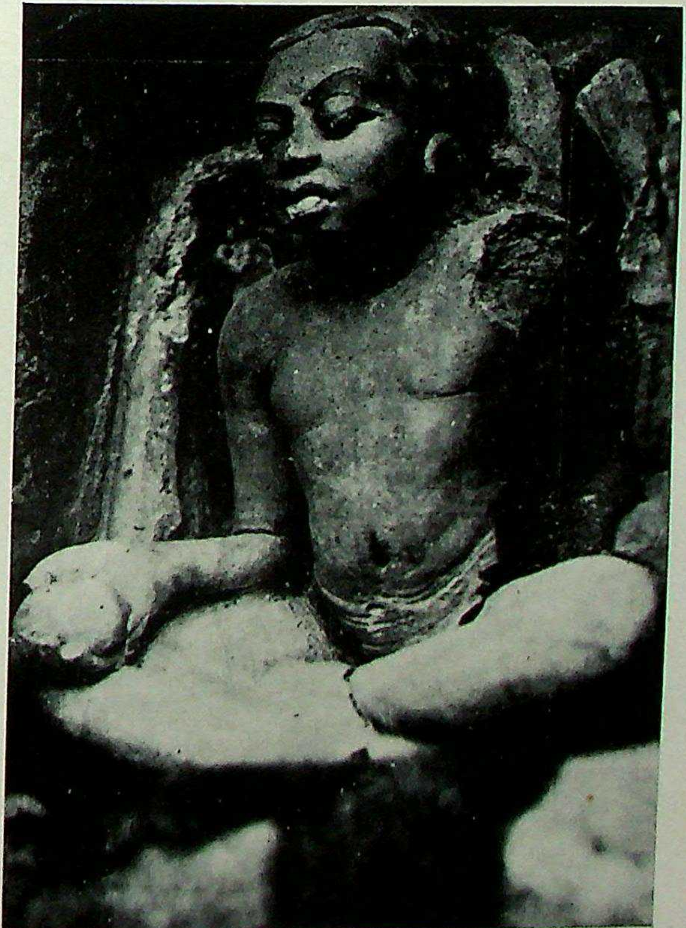
104. W 3.21 Standing male figure.

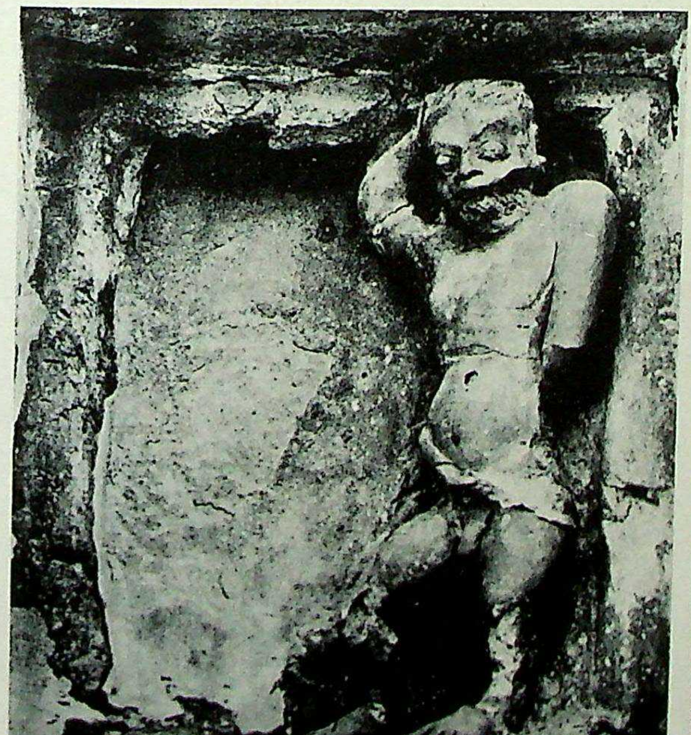


105. W 3.22 Standing male figure.



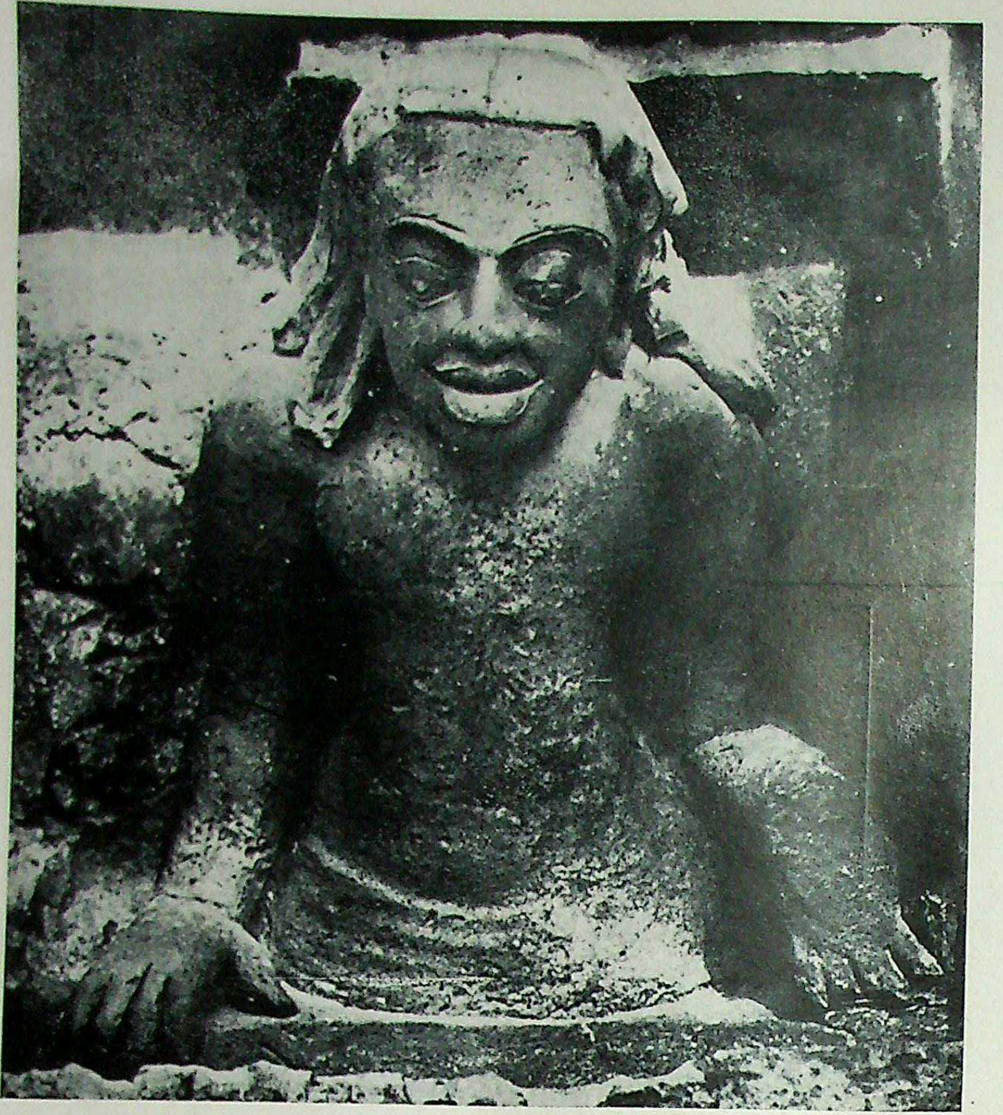
106. W 3.23 Seated male figure.



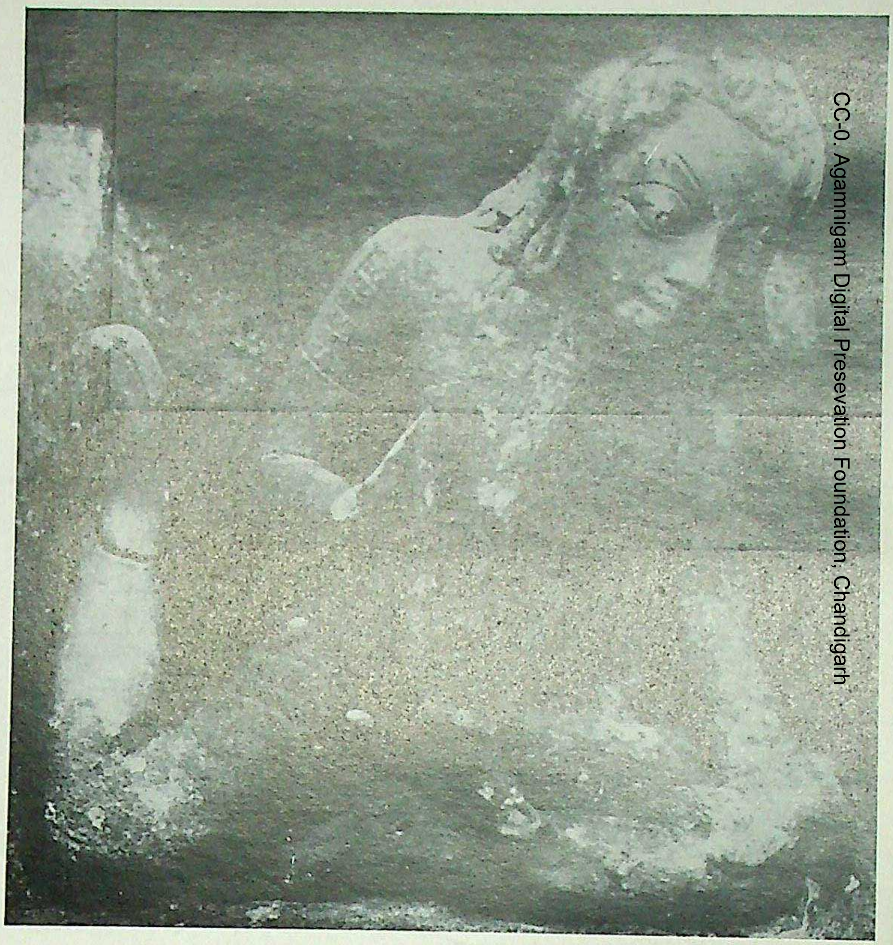


109. N 3.28 Standing male figure.

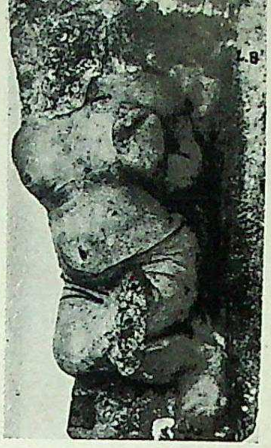
110. N 3.29 Seated male figure.



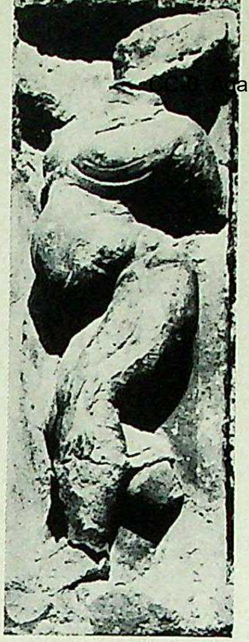
107. W 8.31 Tarso of standing male figure.



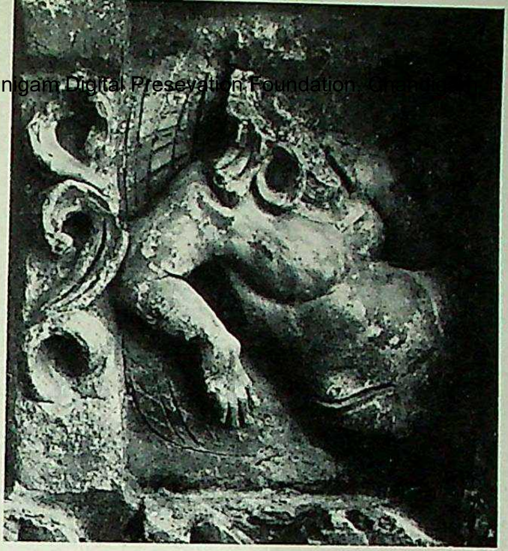
108. W 8 32 *Vidyādhara.*



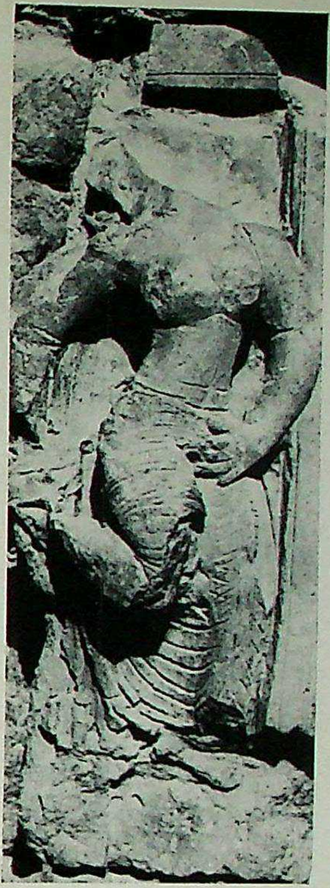
111. L. 8 SML Kneeling figure.



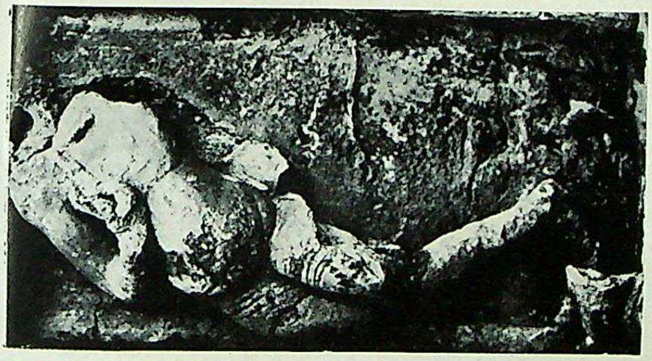
112. E 2.6 Standing female figure.



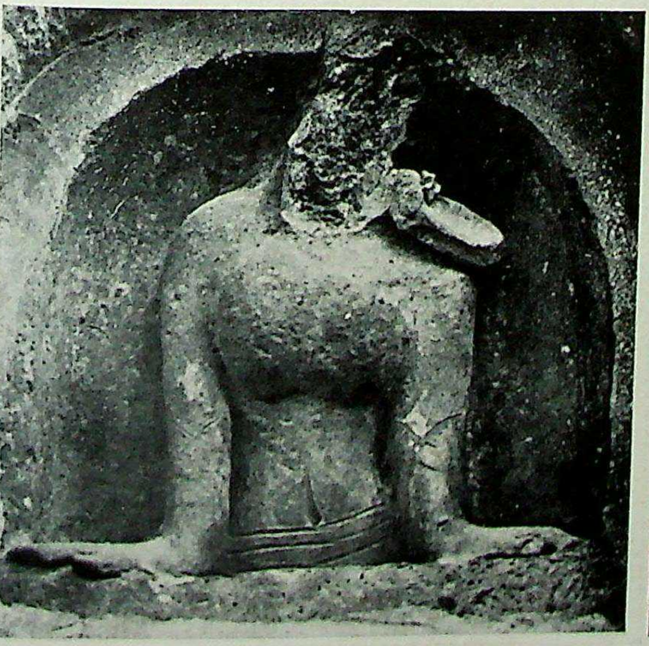
114. S 10.36 Reclining female figure.



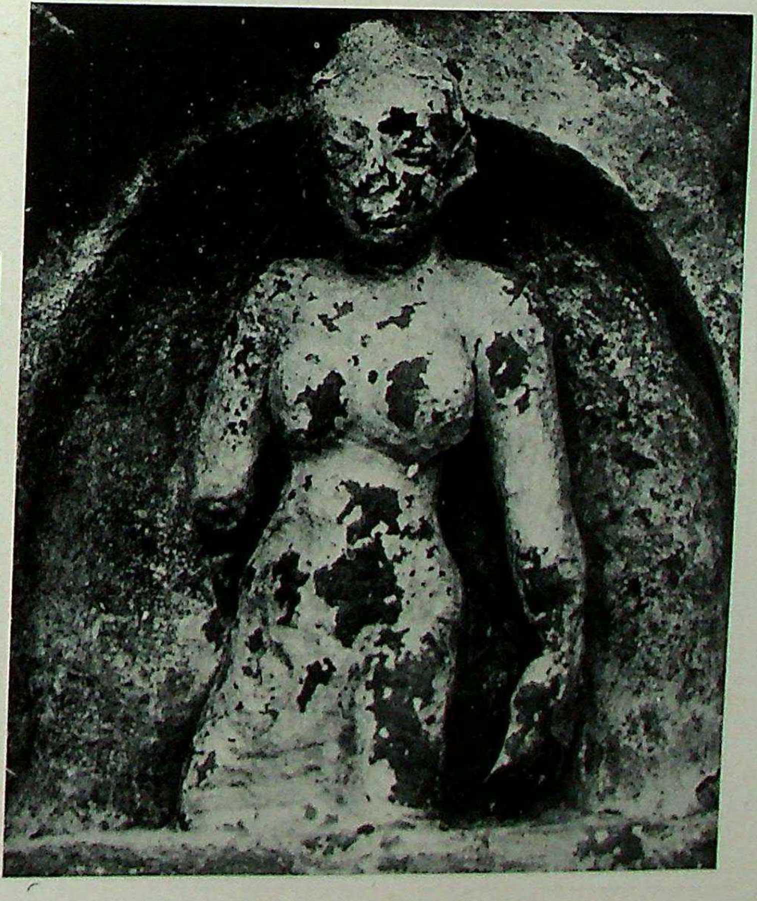
113. E 2.8 Standing female figure.



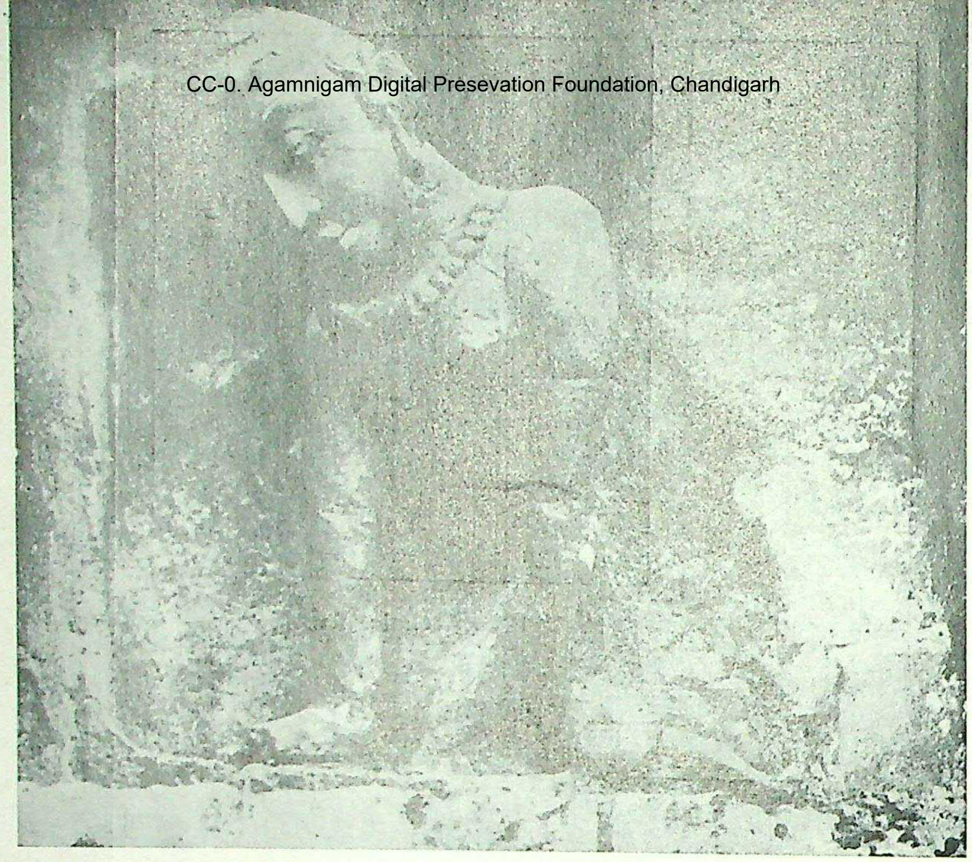
116. W 2.6 Reclining female figure.



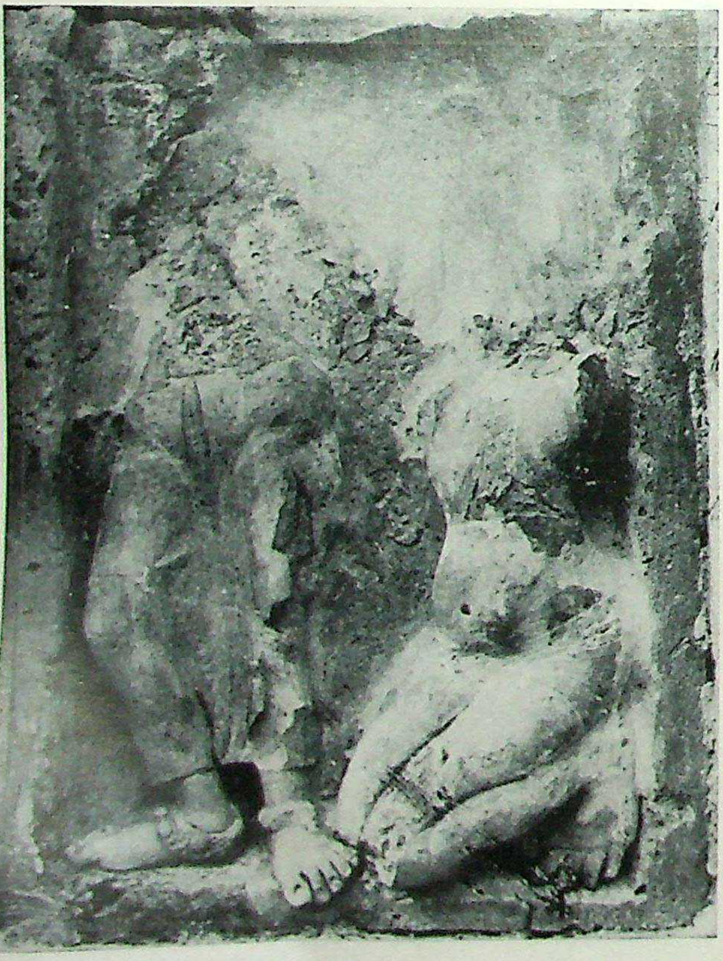
117. N 6.33 Standing female figure.



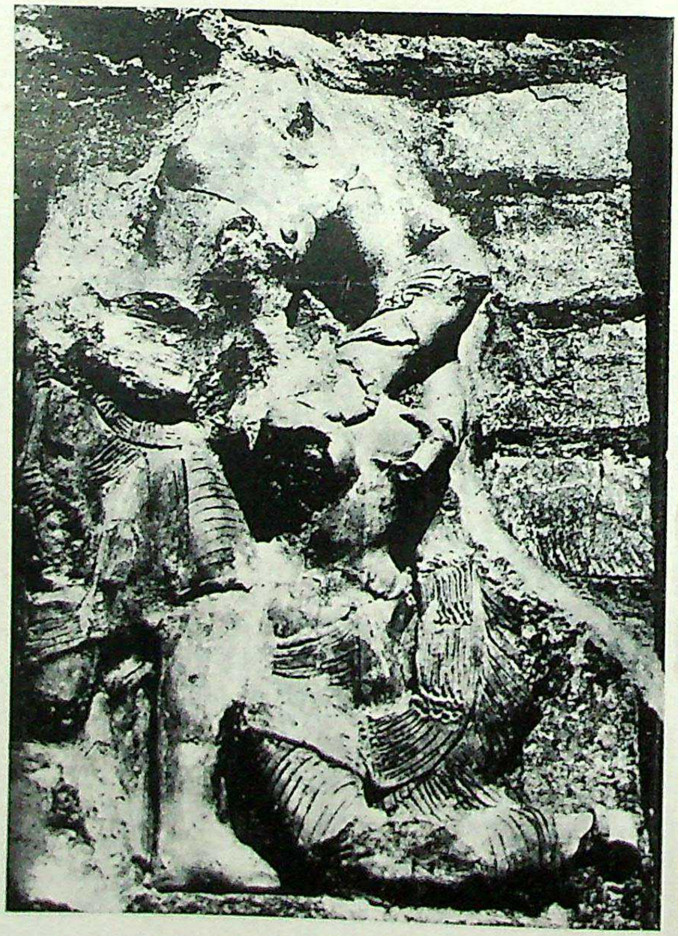
115. S 11.37 Standing female figure.



118. N 8.38 Kneeling female figure.



119. E 3.12 *Mithuna* couple.



120. E 3.14 *Mithuna* couple.

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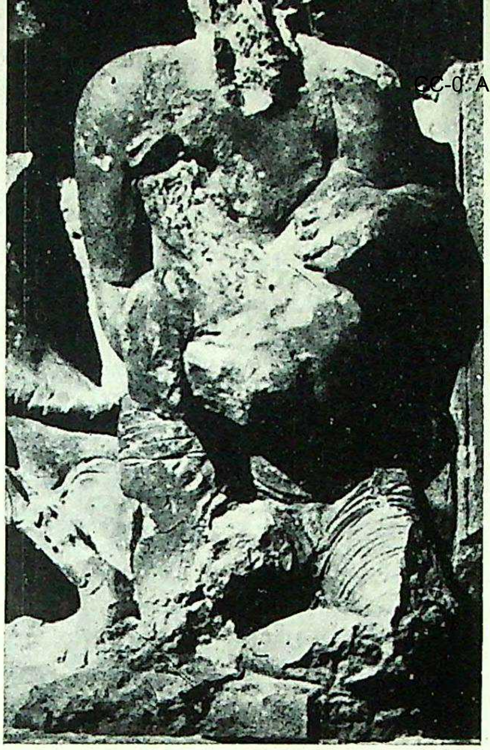
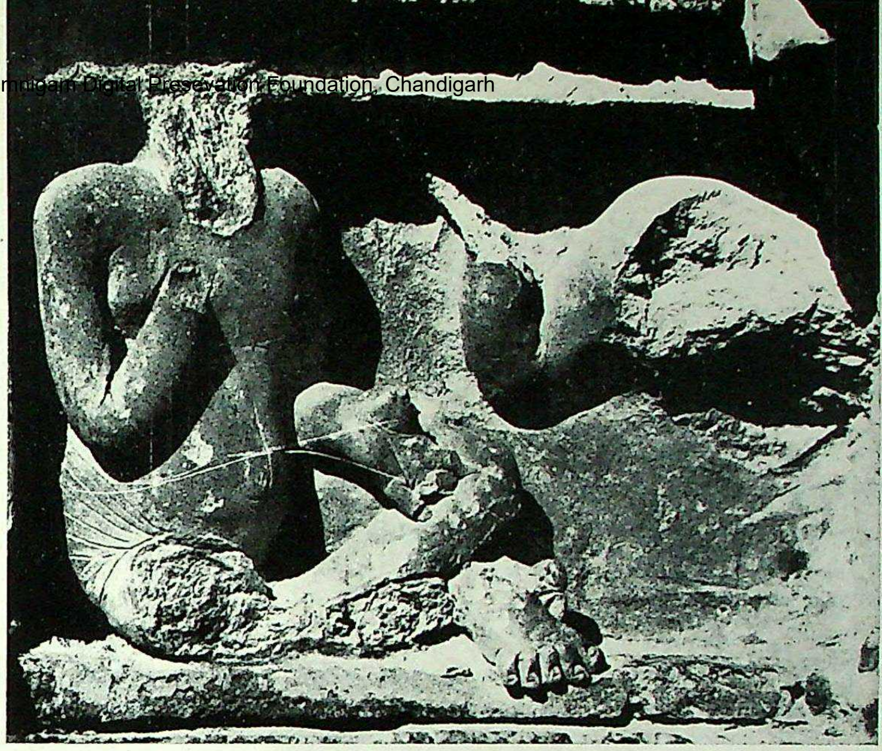
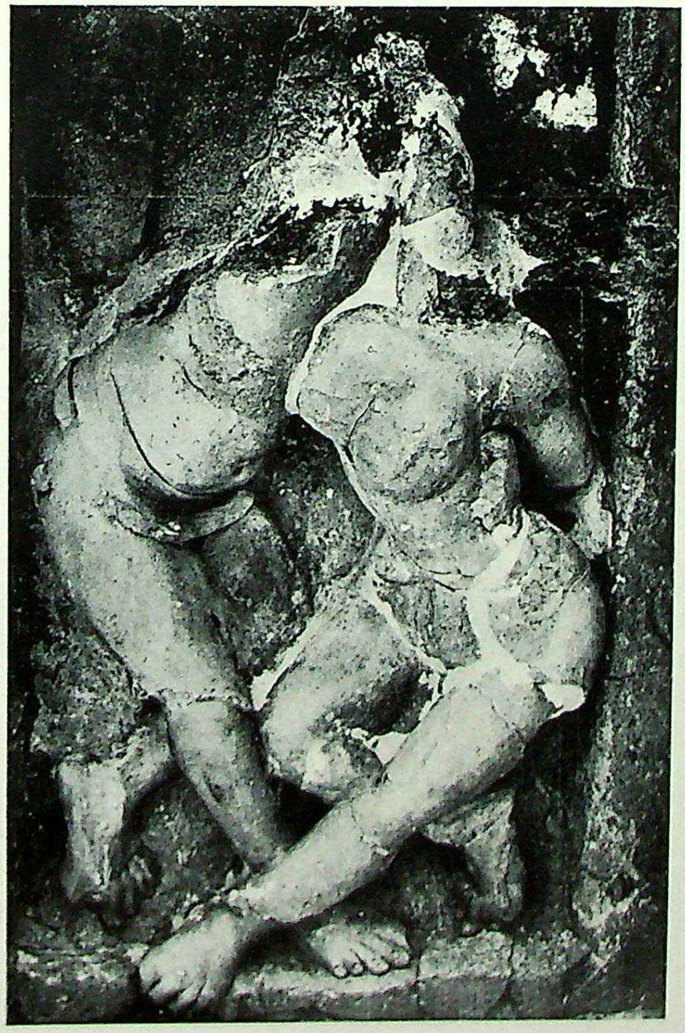


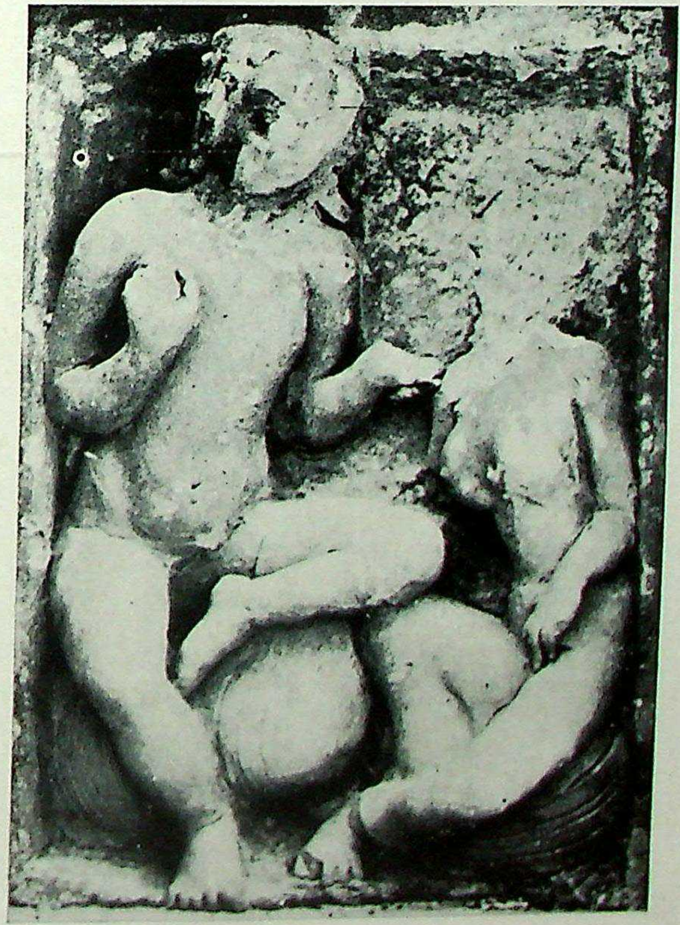
121. S 2.7 *Mithuna* couple.



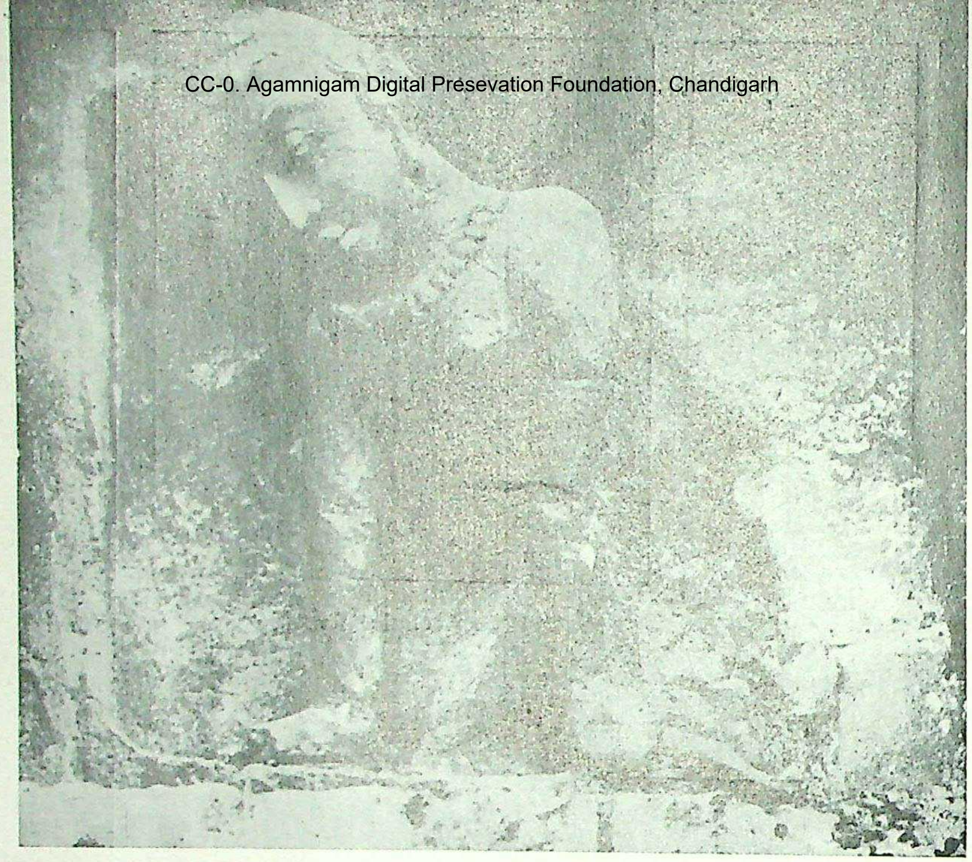
122. S 2.8 *Mithuna* couple.



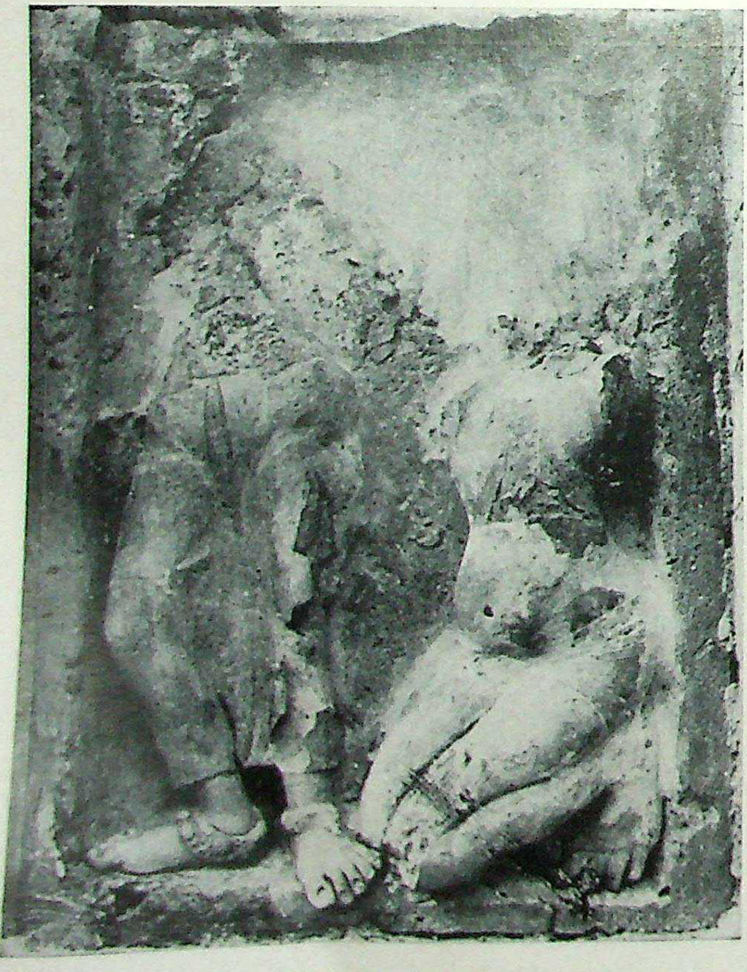
123. W 3.20 *Mithuna* couple.



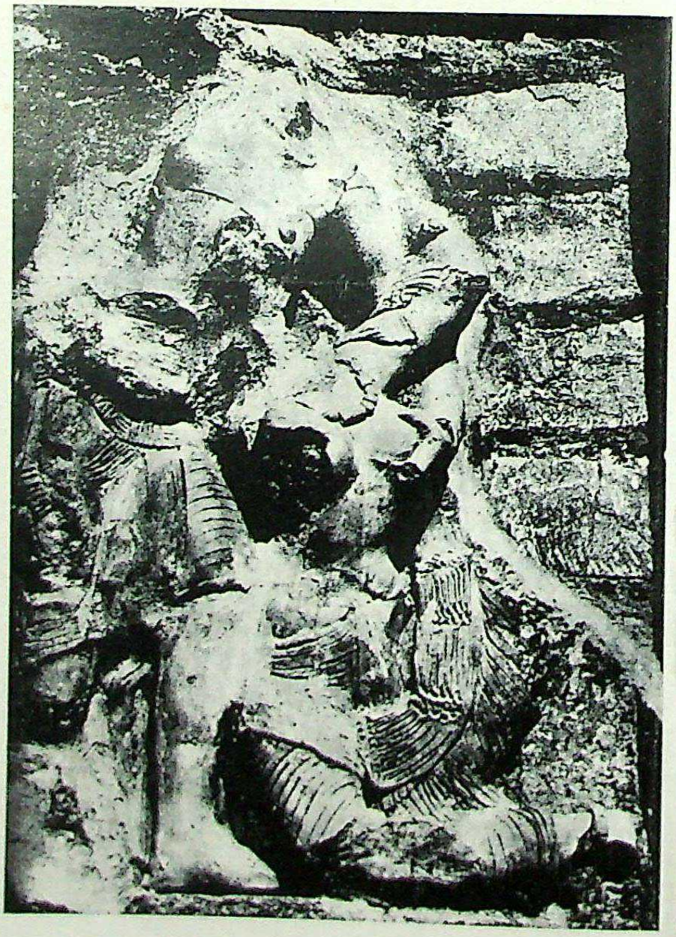
124. W 3.25 *Mithuna* couple.



118. N 8.38 Kneeling female figure.



119. E 3.12 *Mithuna* couple.



120. E 3.14 *Mithuna* couple.

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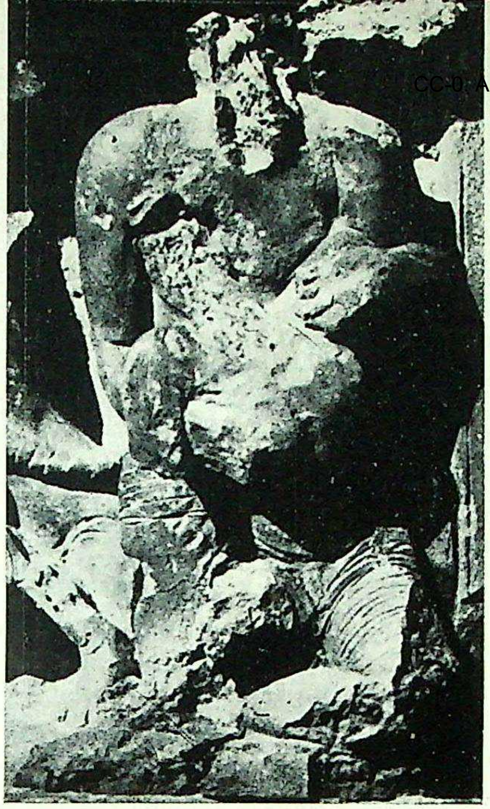
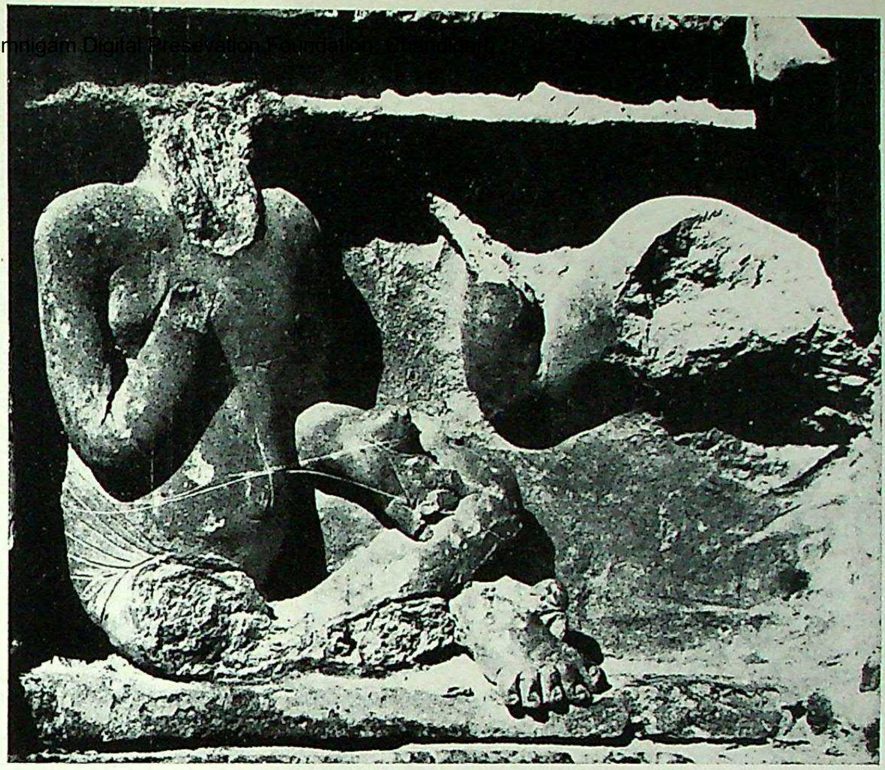
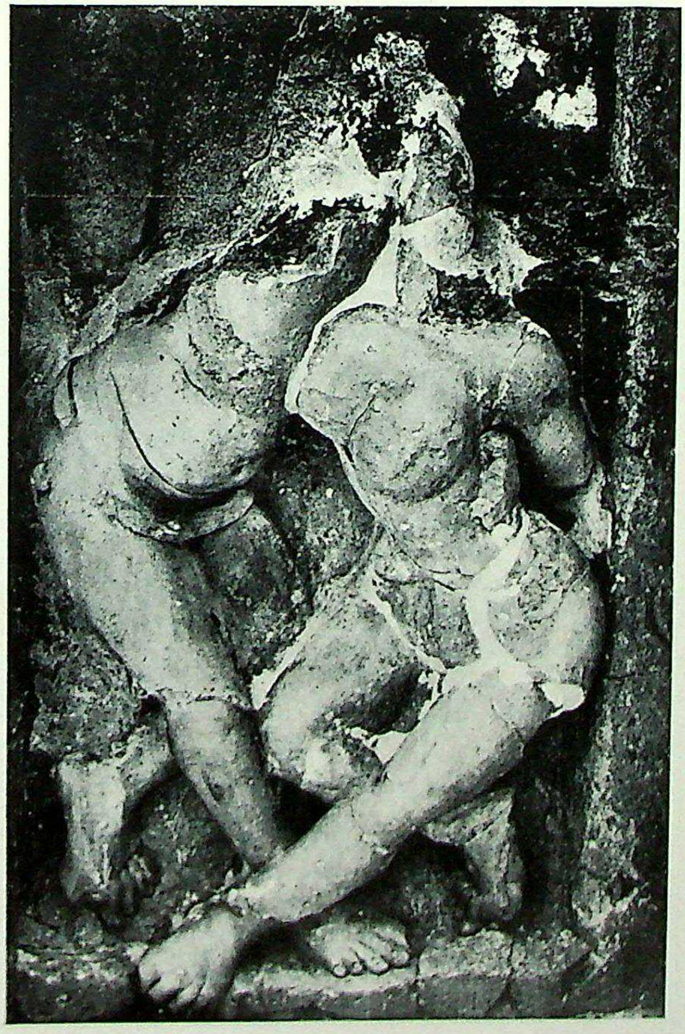


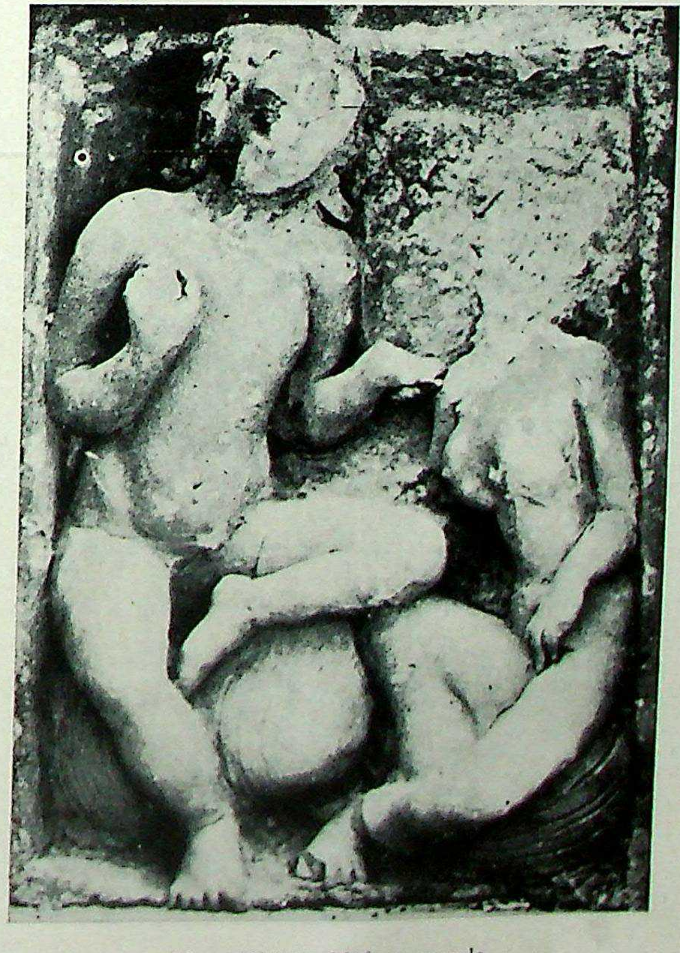
121. S 2.7 *Mithuna* couple.



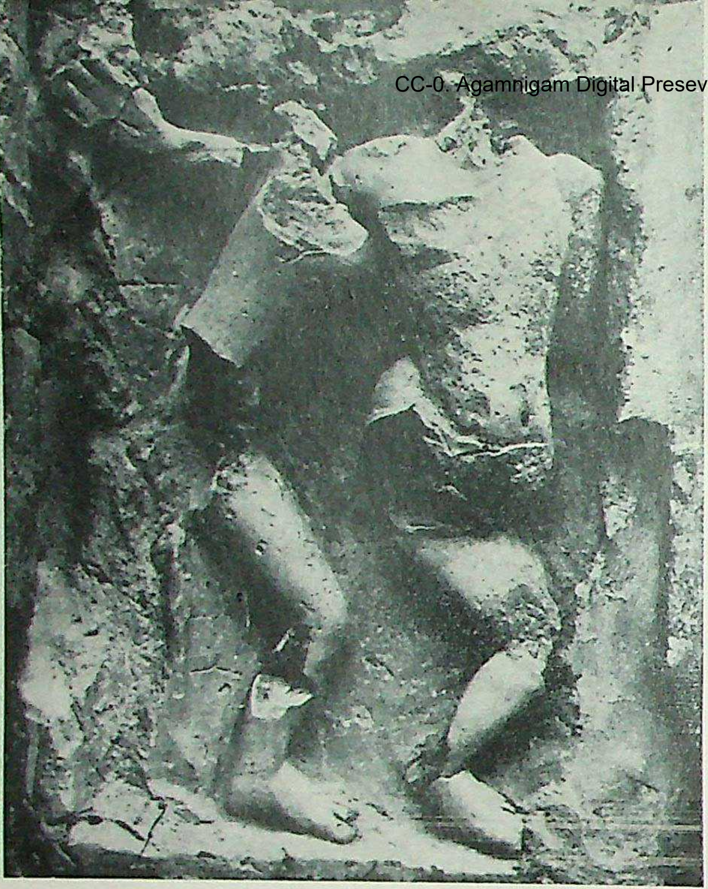
122. S 2.8 *Mithuna* couple.



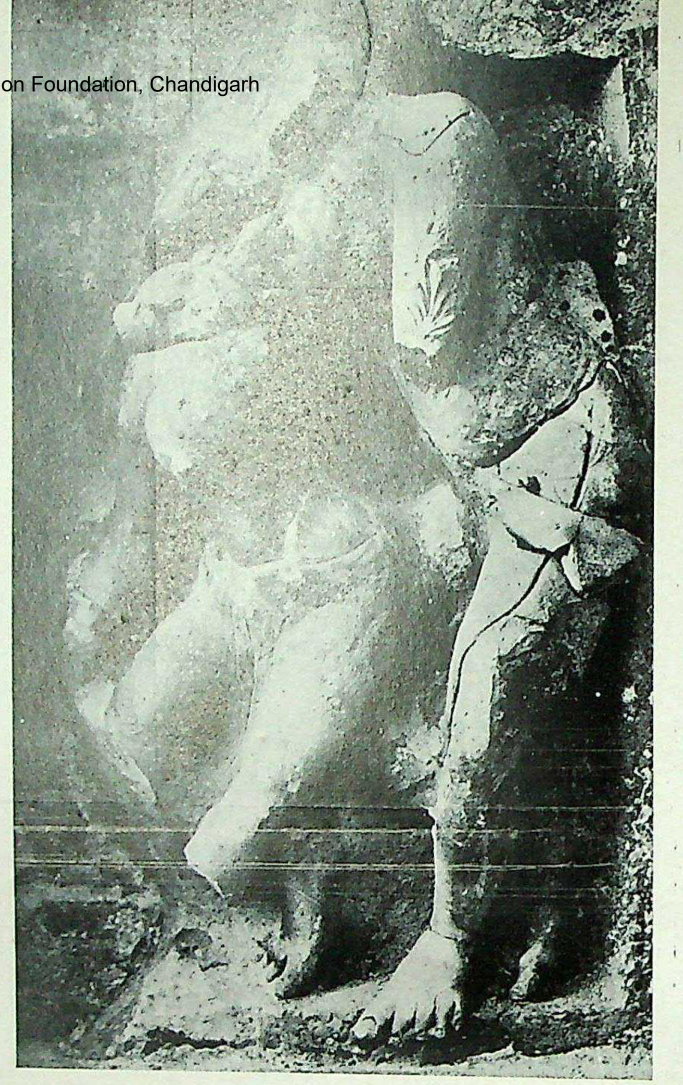
123. W 3.20 *Mithuna* couple.



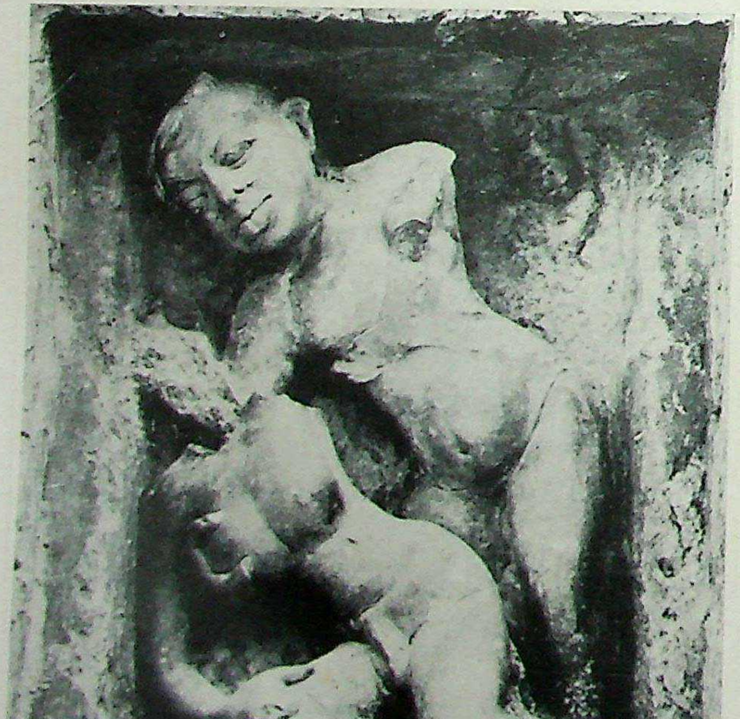
124. W 3.25 *Mithuna* couple.



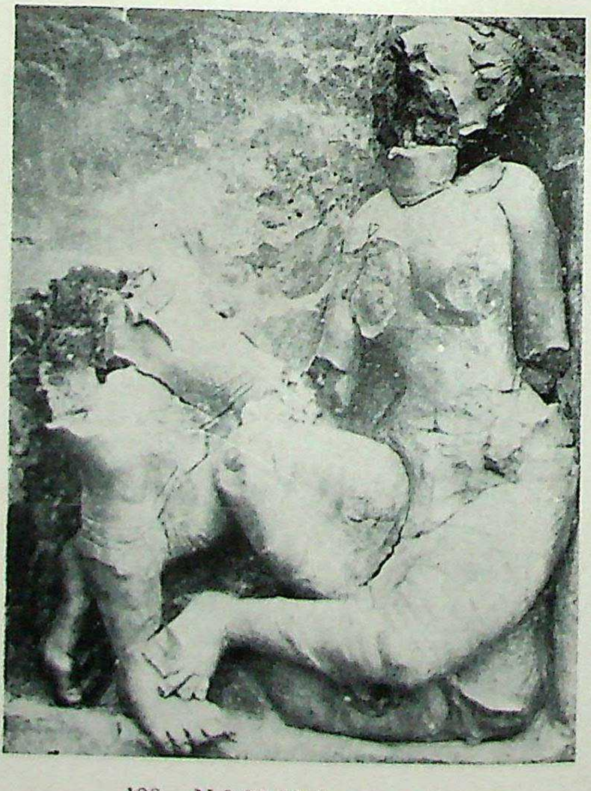
125. W 3.26 *Mithuna* couple.



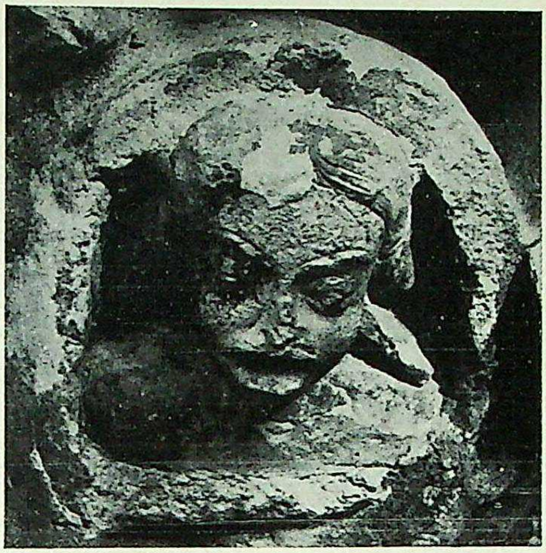
126. N 3.24 *Mithuna* couple.



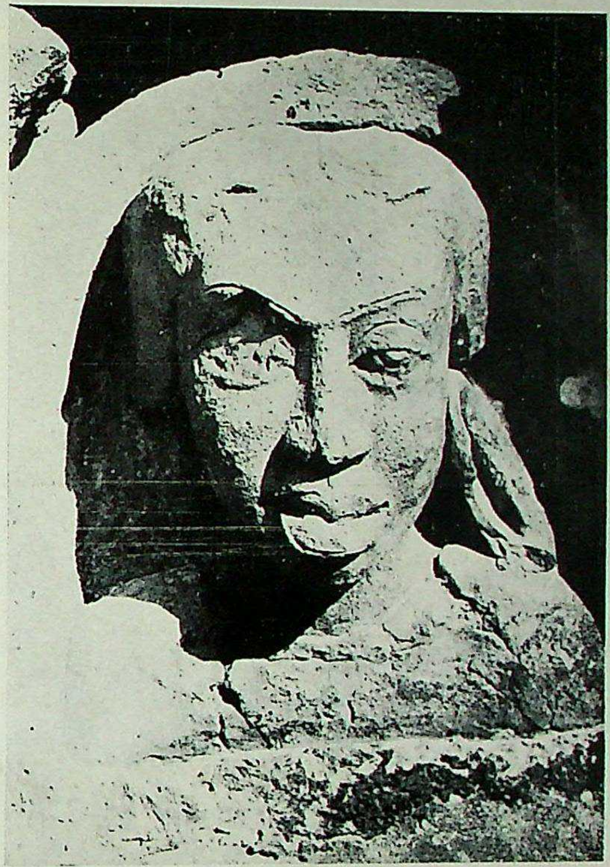
127. N 3.26 *Mithuna* couple.



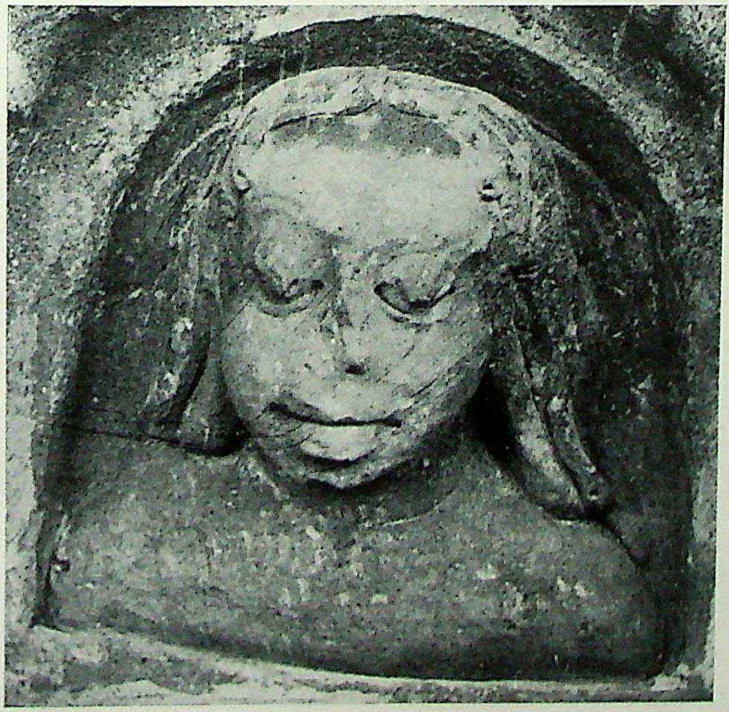
128. N 3.30 *Mithuna* couple.



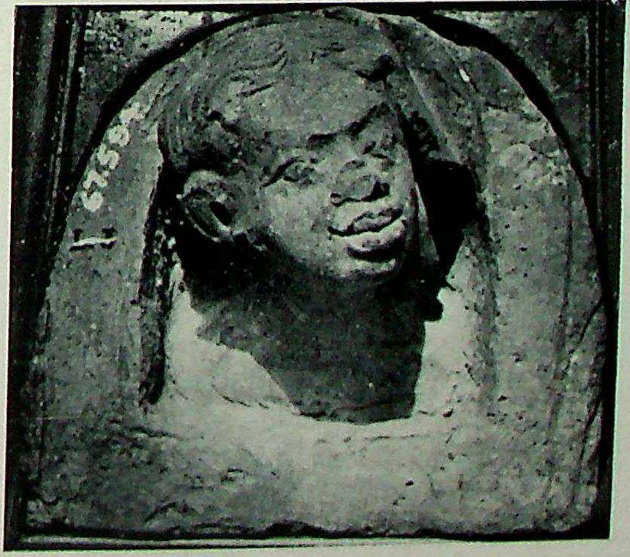
129. W 6.28 Head of female.



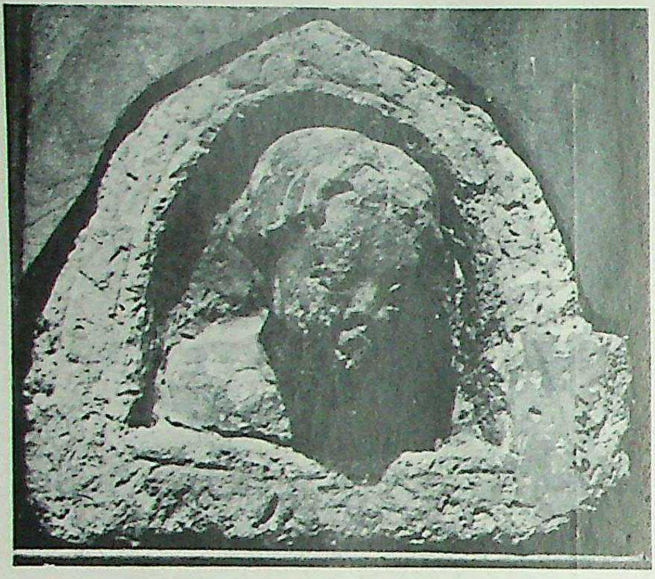
130. W 6.30 Head of female.



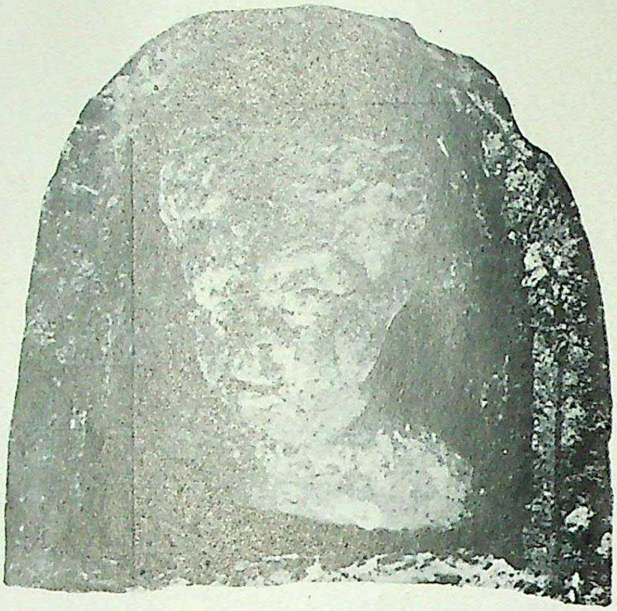
131. N 7.35 Head of female.



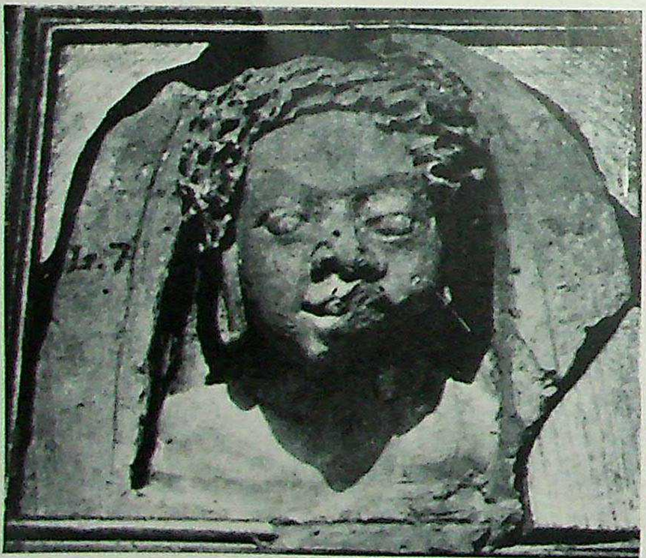
132. 67.594 SML Head of female.



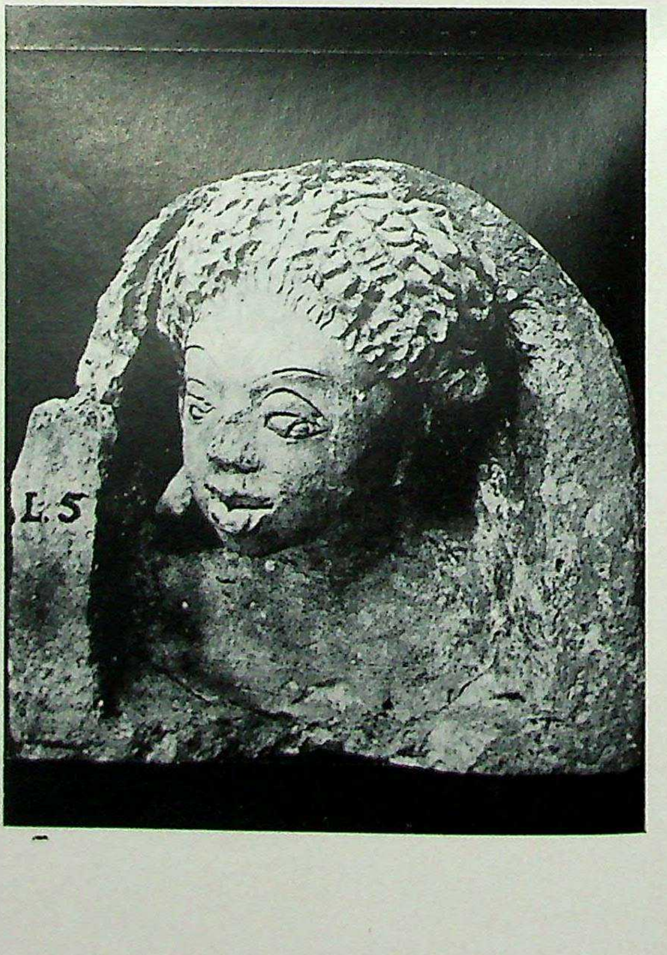
133. 67.147 SML Head of female.



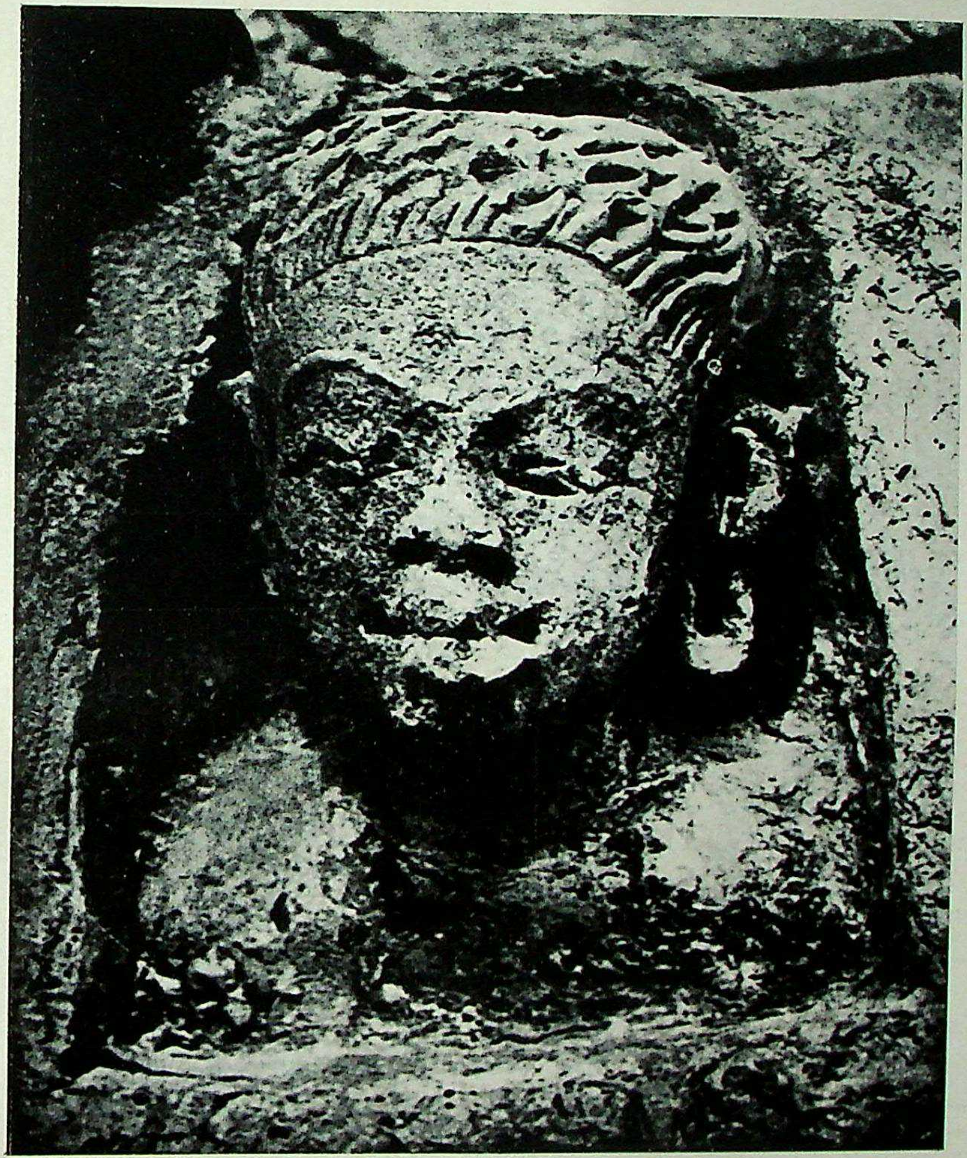
134. 67.138 SML Head of female.



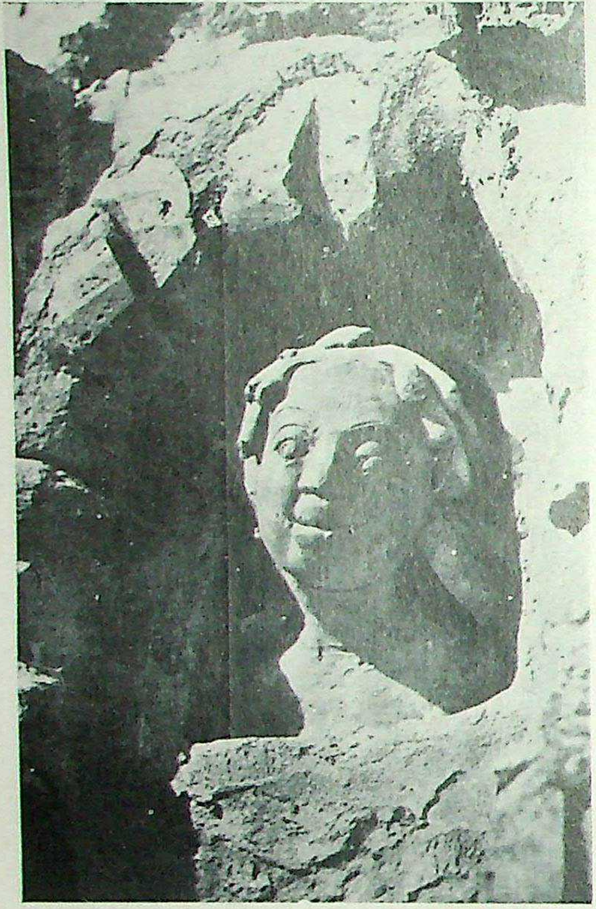
135. L.7 SML Head of female.



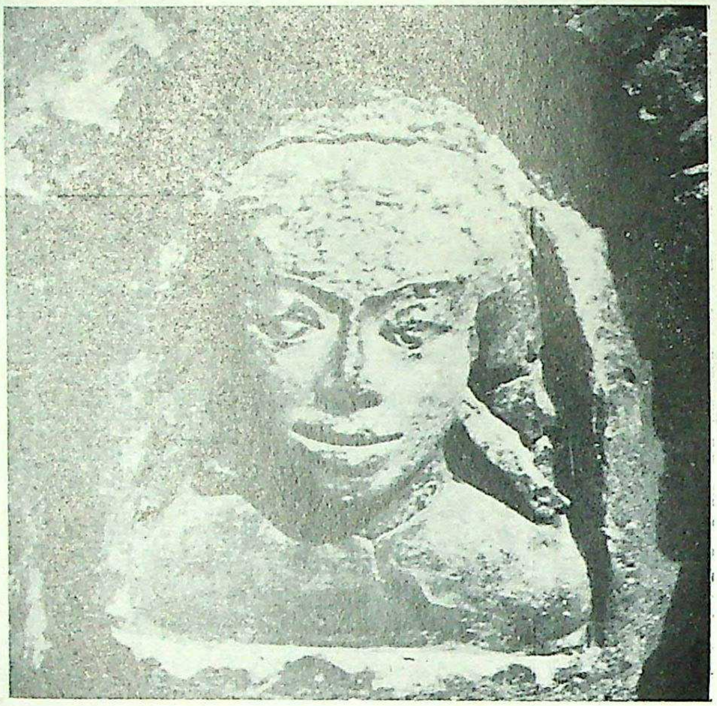
136. L.5 SML Head of female.



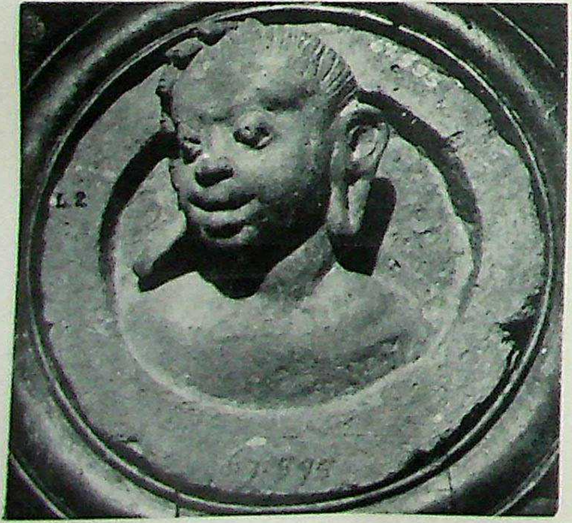
137. S 4.32 Head of female.



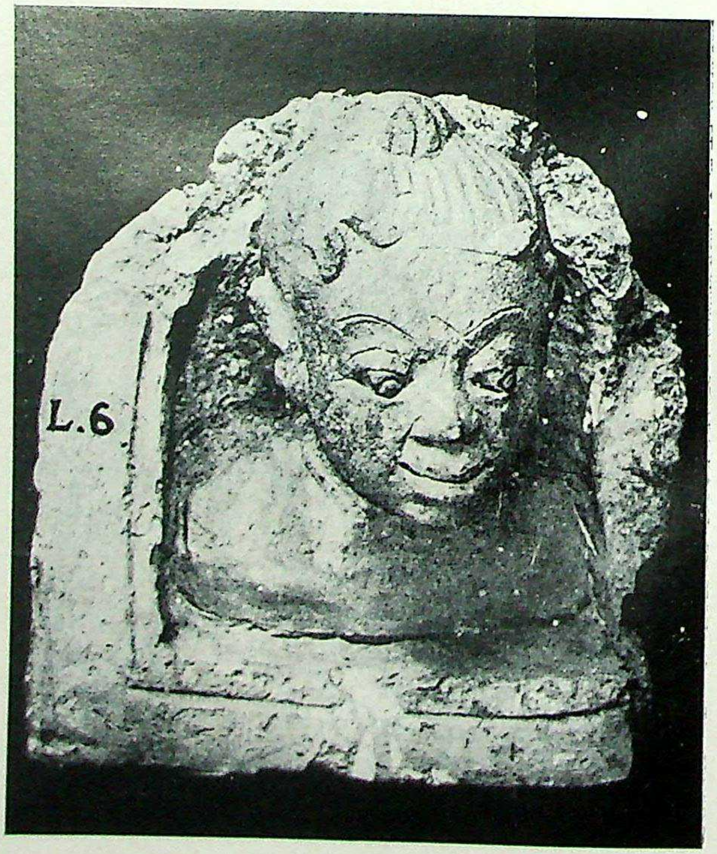
138. S 4.30 Head of female.



139. W 6.29 Head of female.



140. 67.595 SML Head of female.



141. L.6 SML Head of female.

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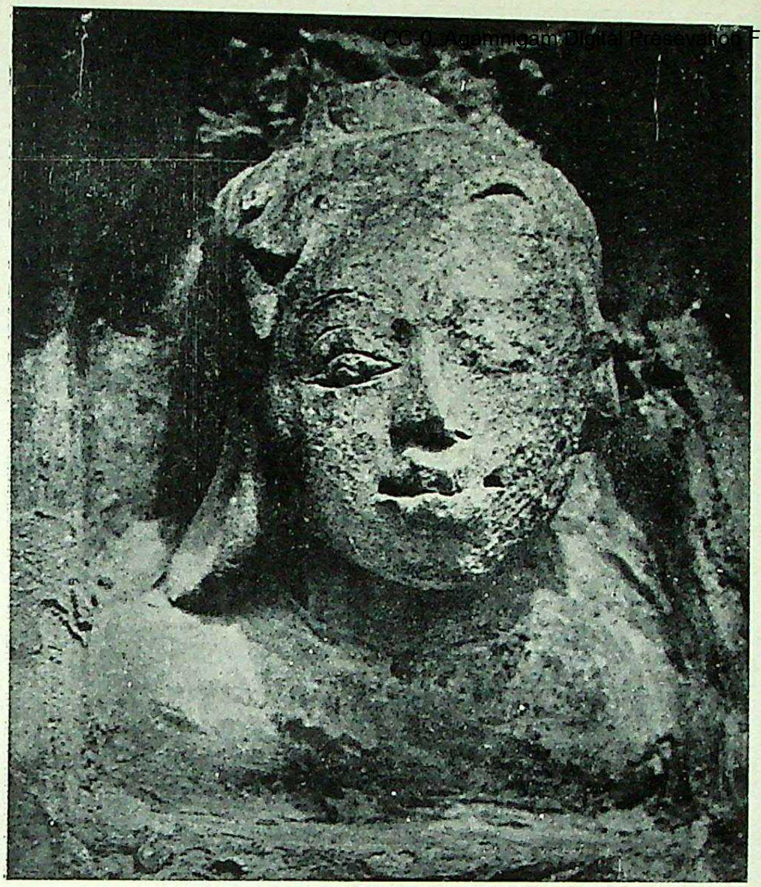
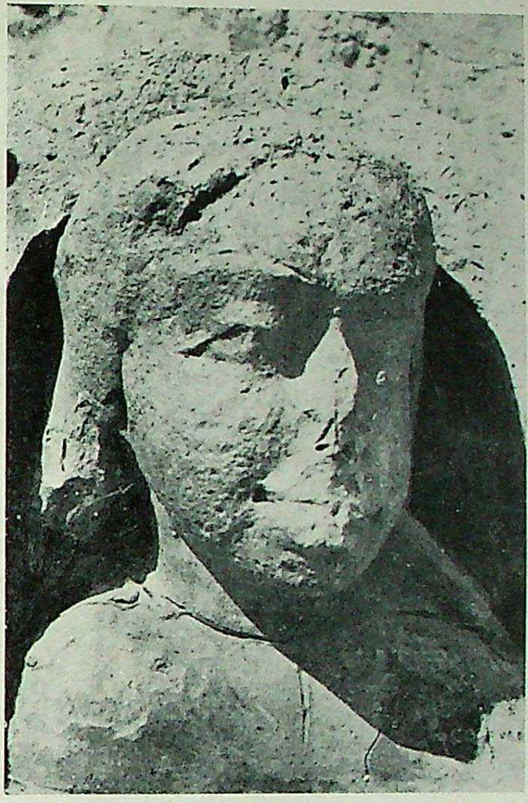
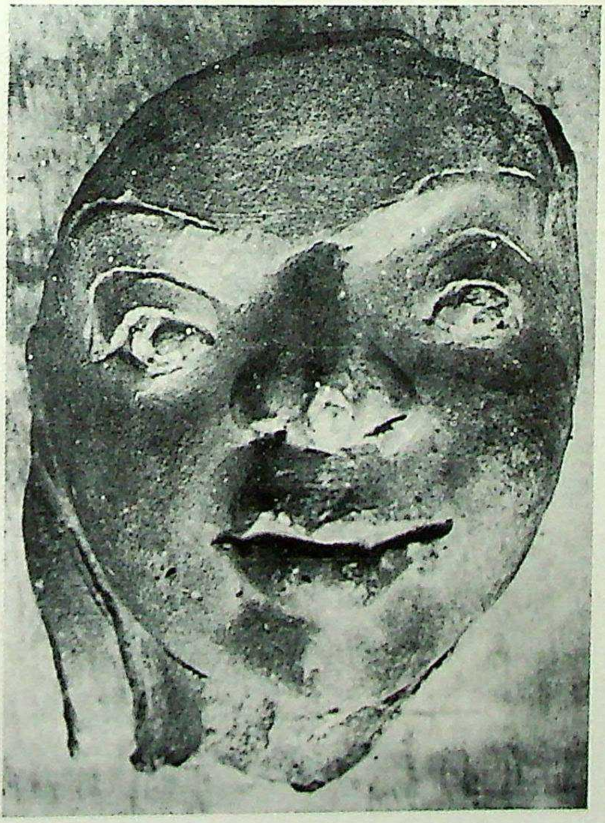


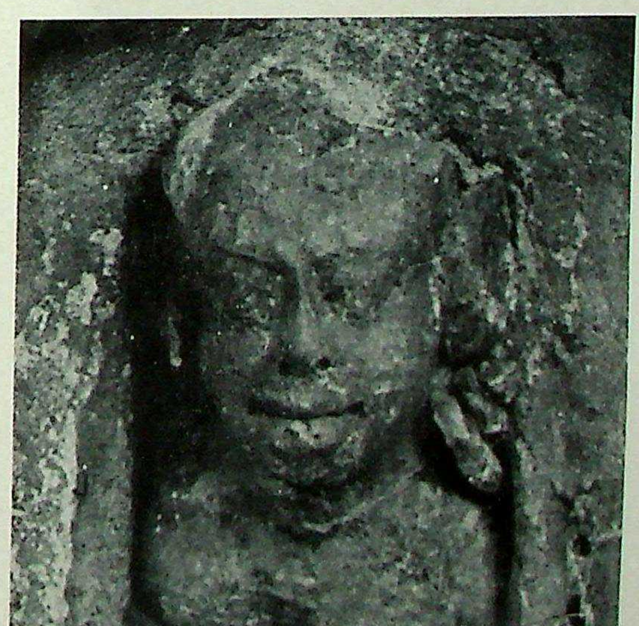
142. S 4.31 Head of female.



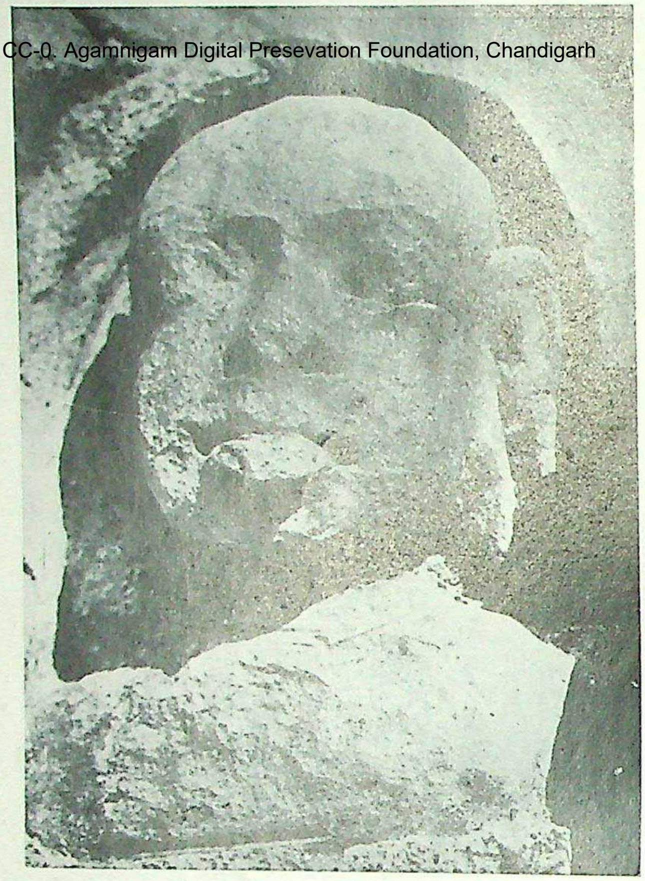
143. S 6.34 Head of female.



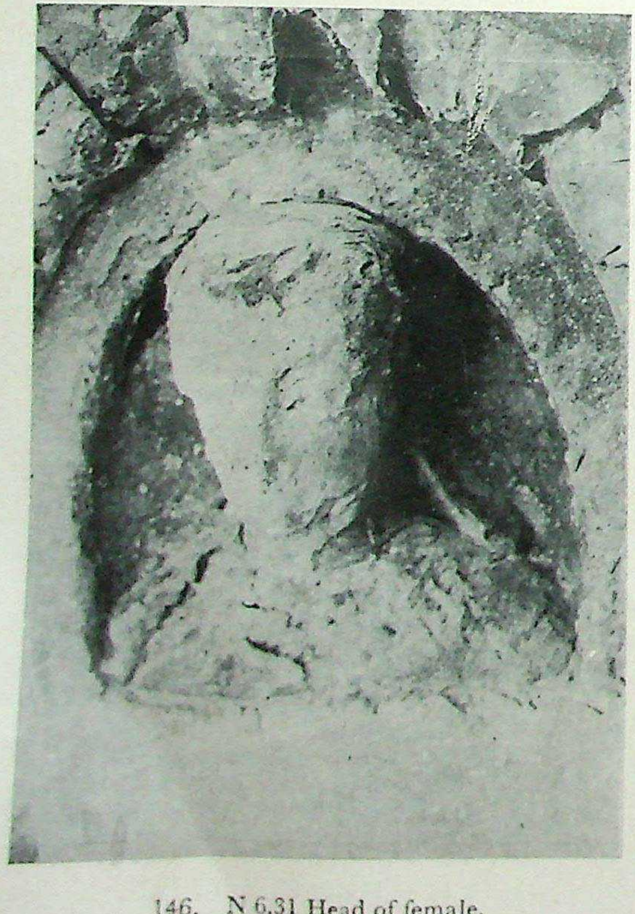
145. 66.521 SML Head of female.



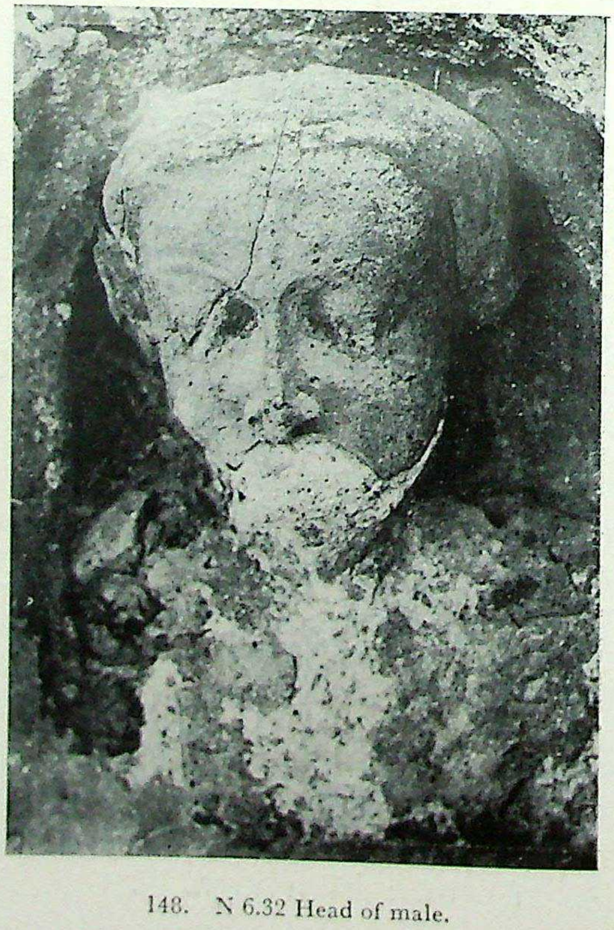
144. N 6.34 Head of female.



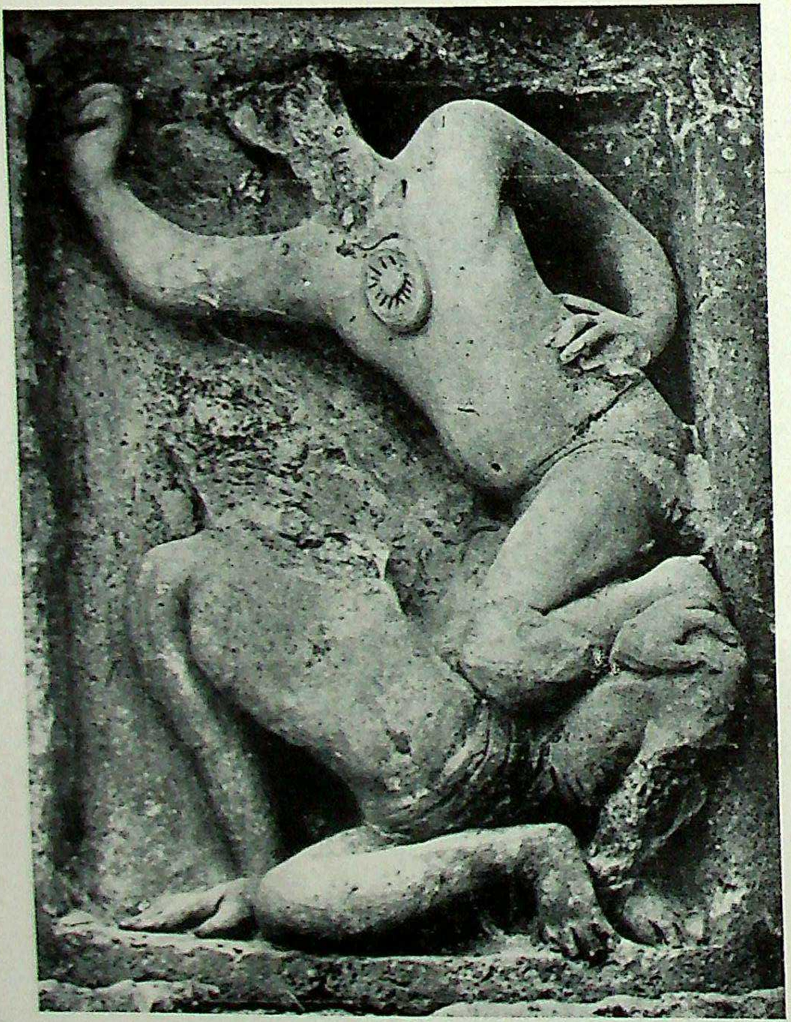
147. S 5.33 Head of female.



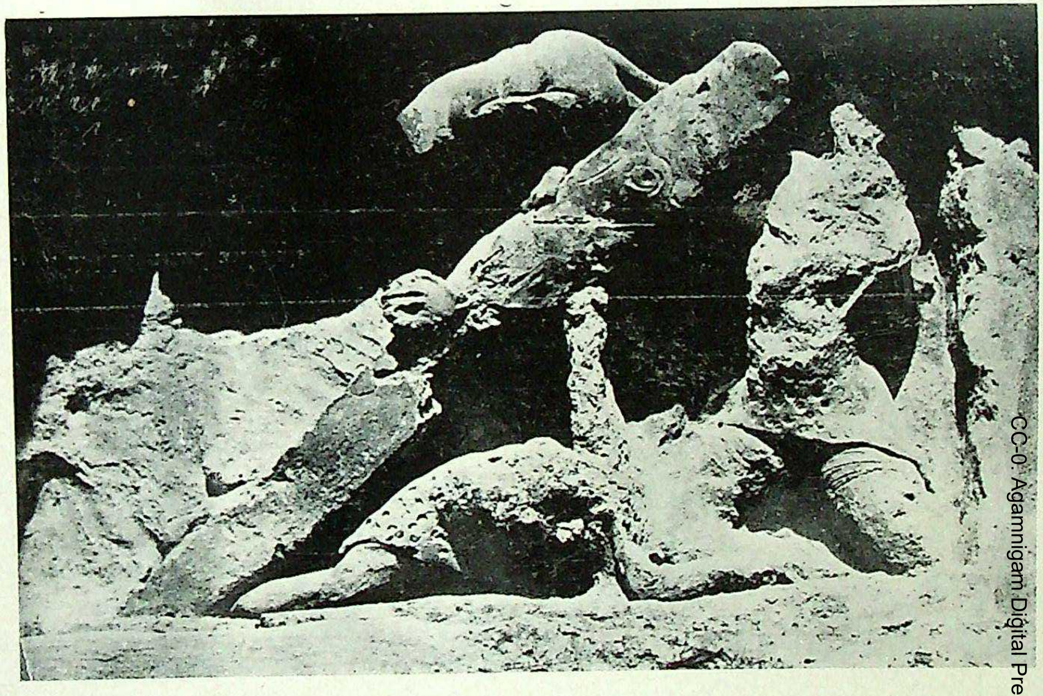
146. N 6.31 Head of female.



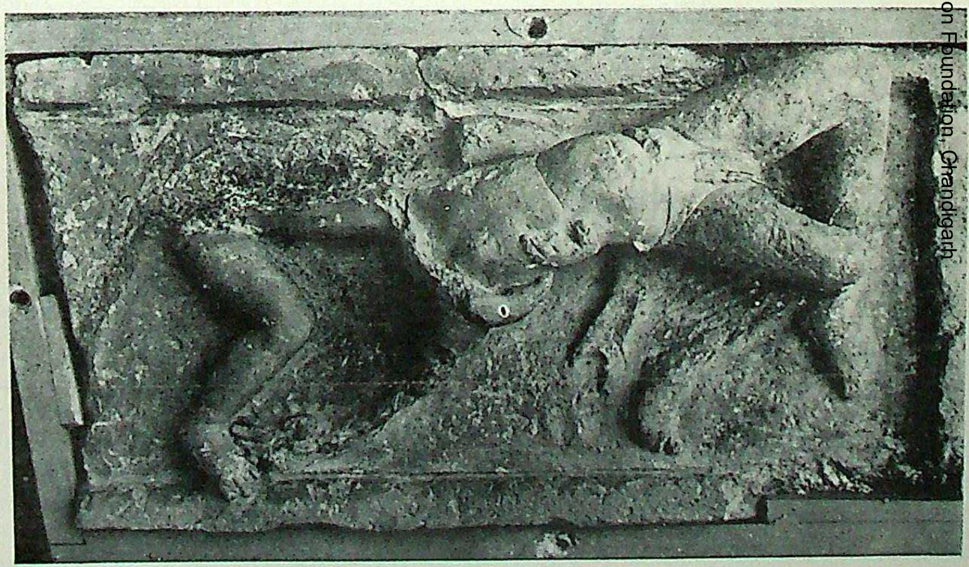
148. N 6.32 Head of male.



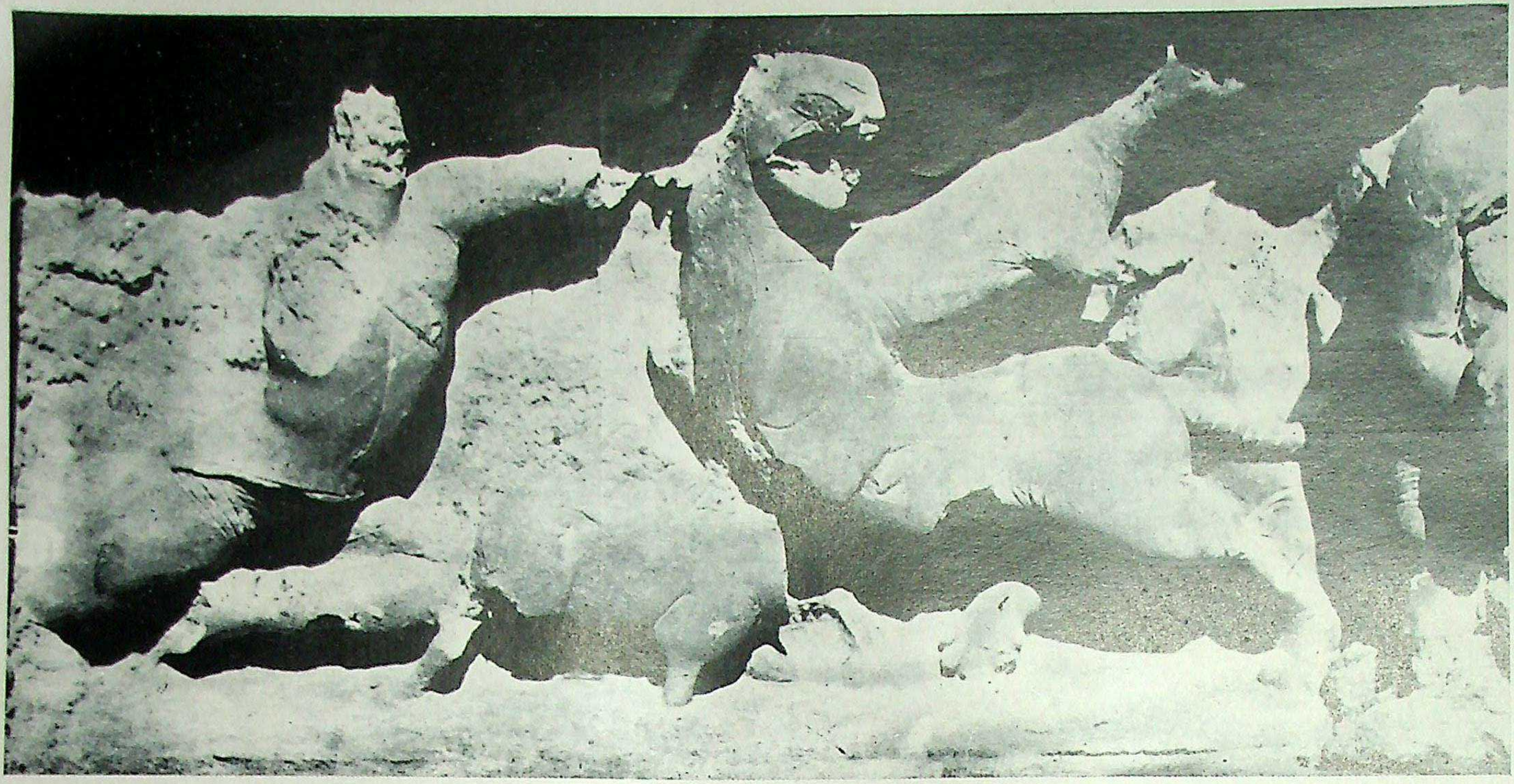
150. W 3.24 Warrior attacking adversary.



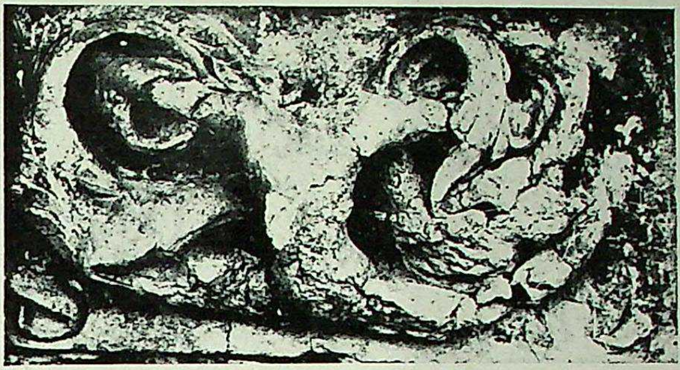
149. W 2.16 Wrestlers.



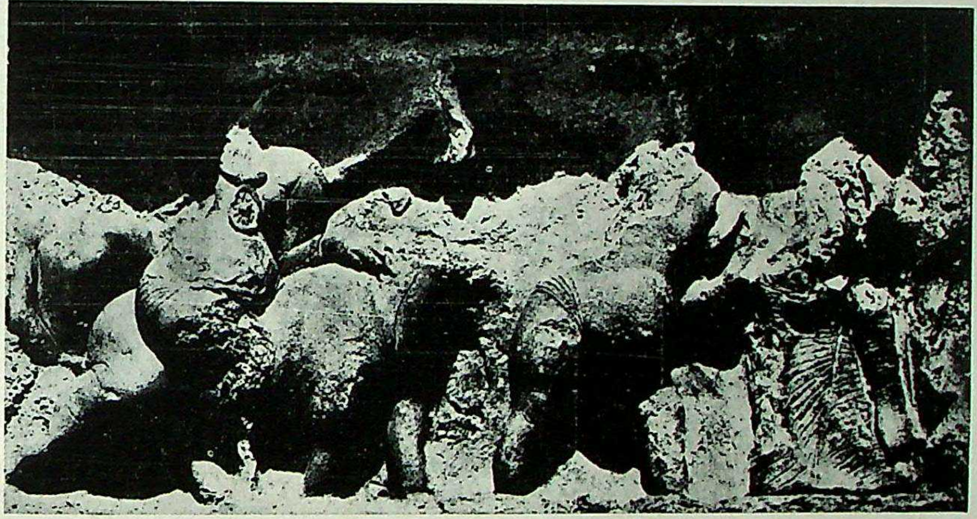
151. 67.140 SML Wrestlers.



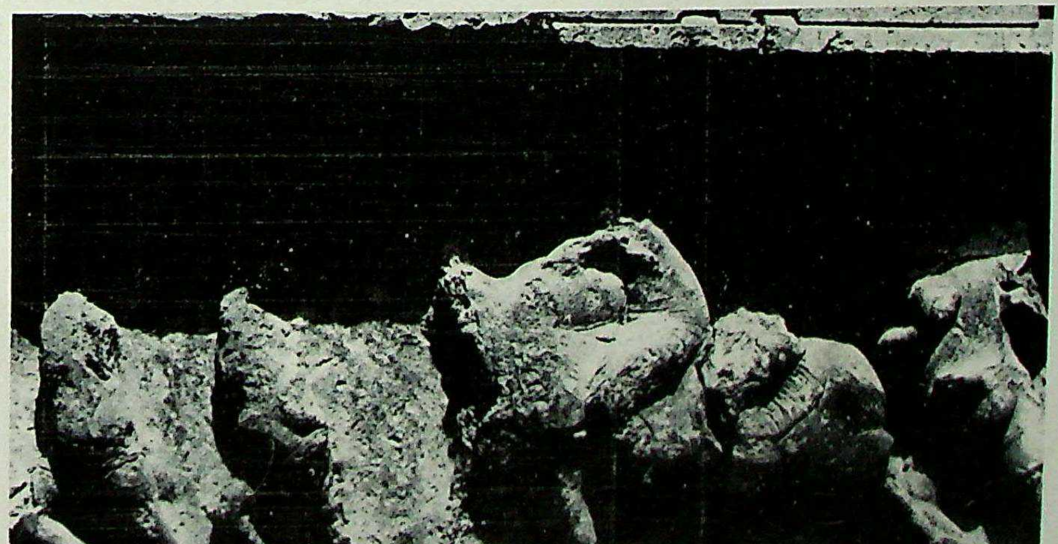
152. S 2.6 Men and animals.



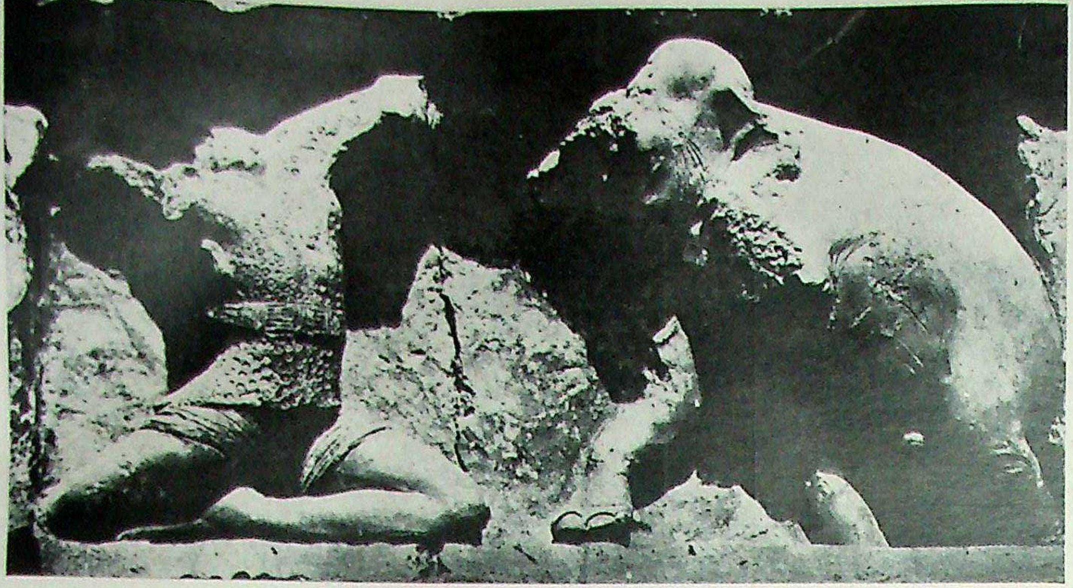
153. S 2.17 Man being devoured by crocodiles.



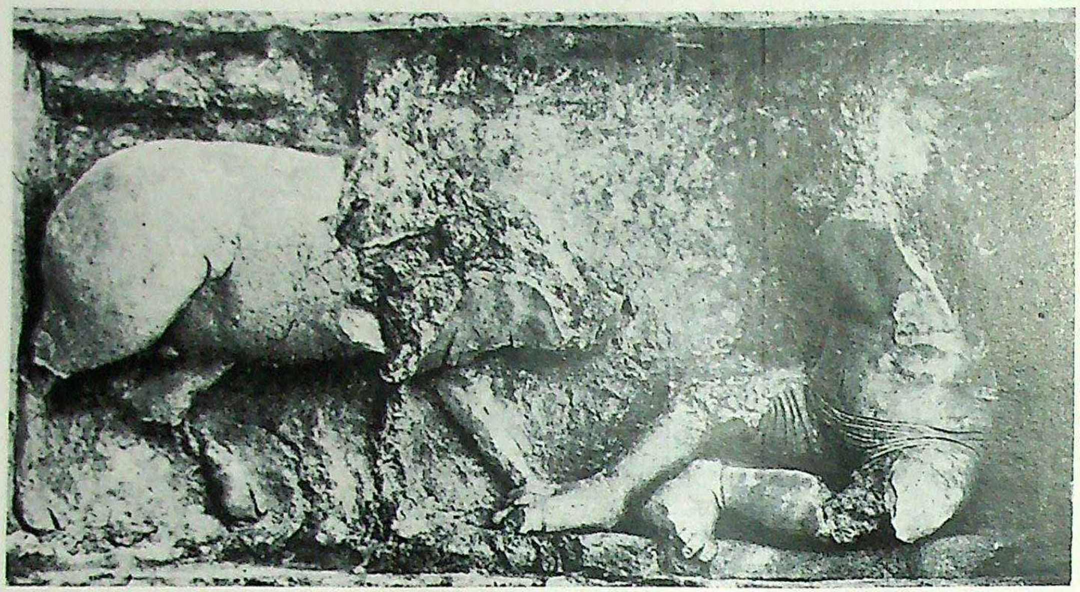
154. W 2.7 Procession.



155. W 2.9 Rider on bull with attendants.

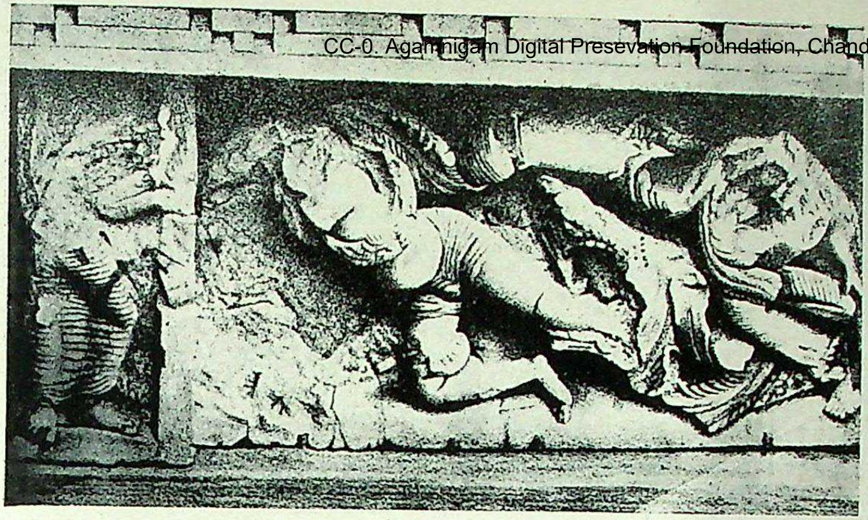


156. W 2.14 Warrior attacking elephant.

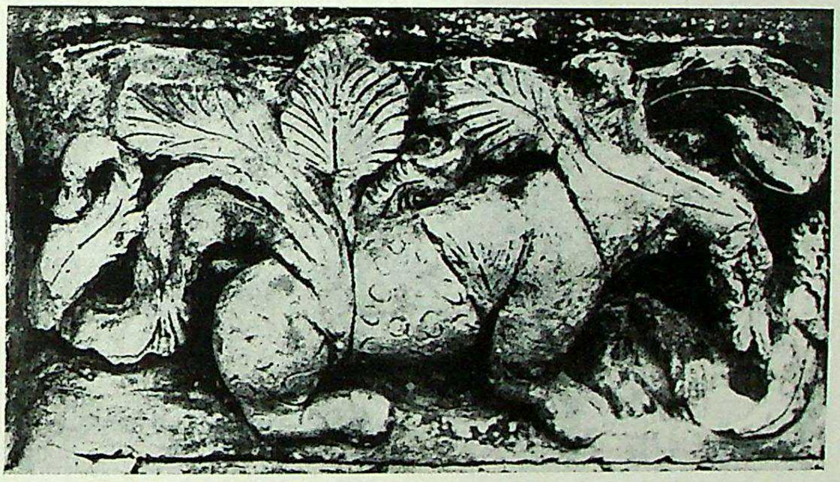


158. N 2.19 Man and a cleft-hoofed animal.

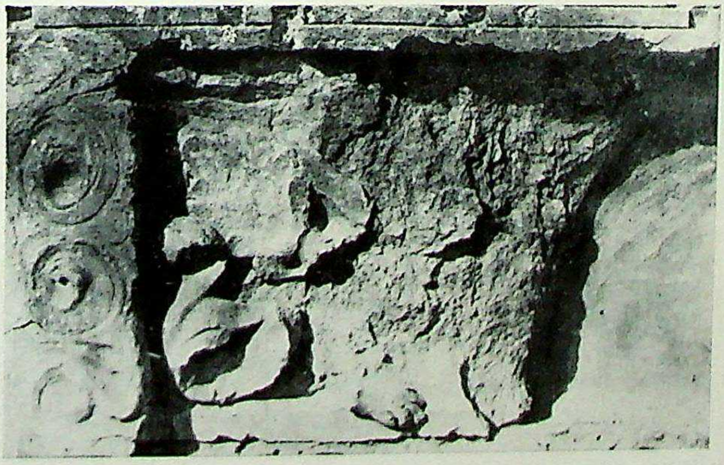
157. N 2.10 Male figure on a cleft-footed animal.



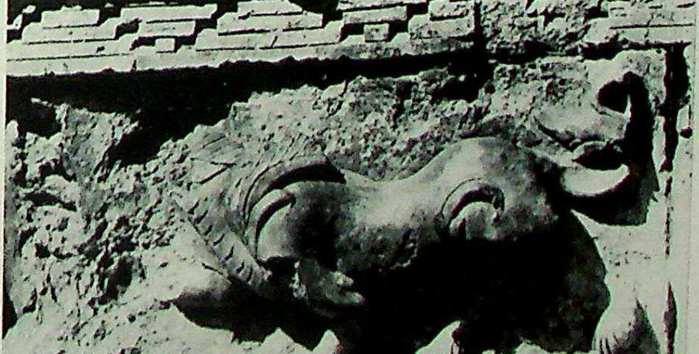
159. Plate XVI, Vol. XI, A.S.I.R., Men and makaras.



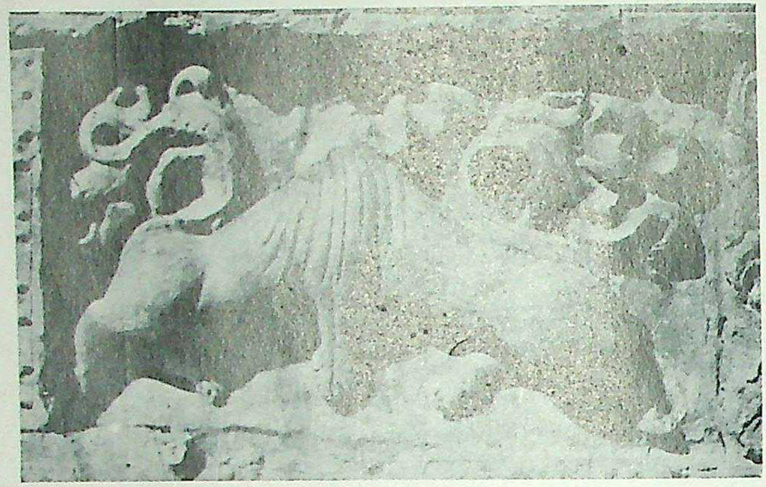
160. S 2.9 Mythical animal.



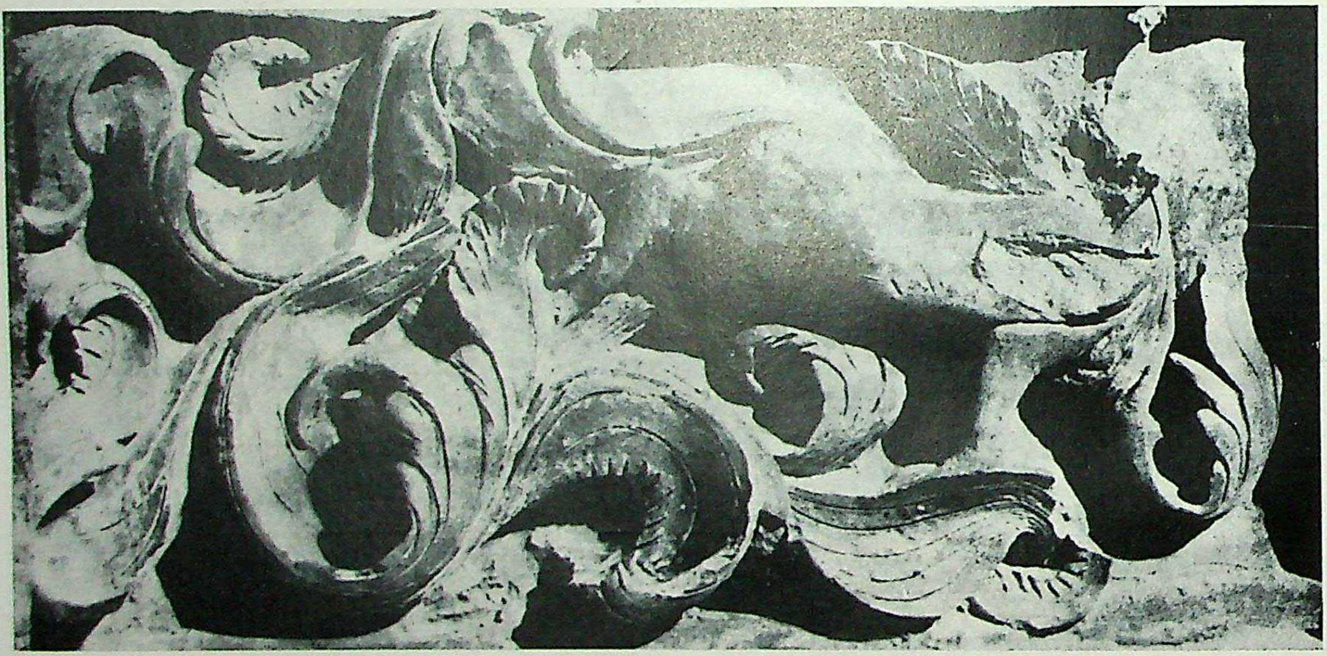
161. S 2.10 Animal with foliated limbs.



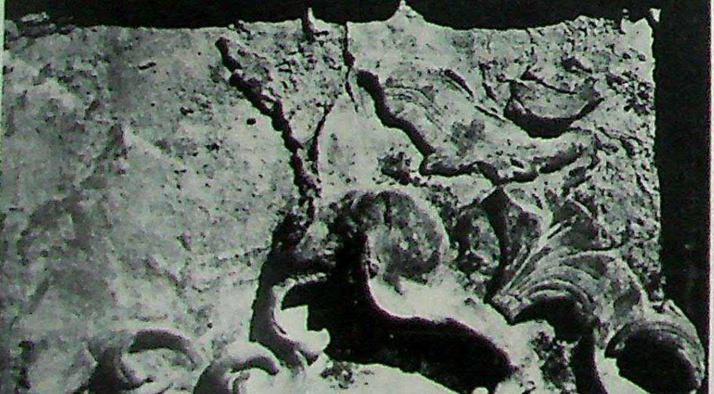
162. S 2.14 Winged lion.



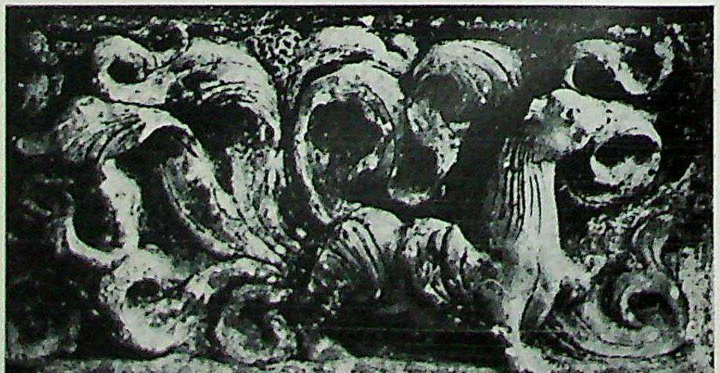
163. S 2.18 Two lions with single head.



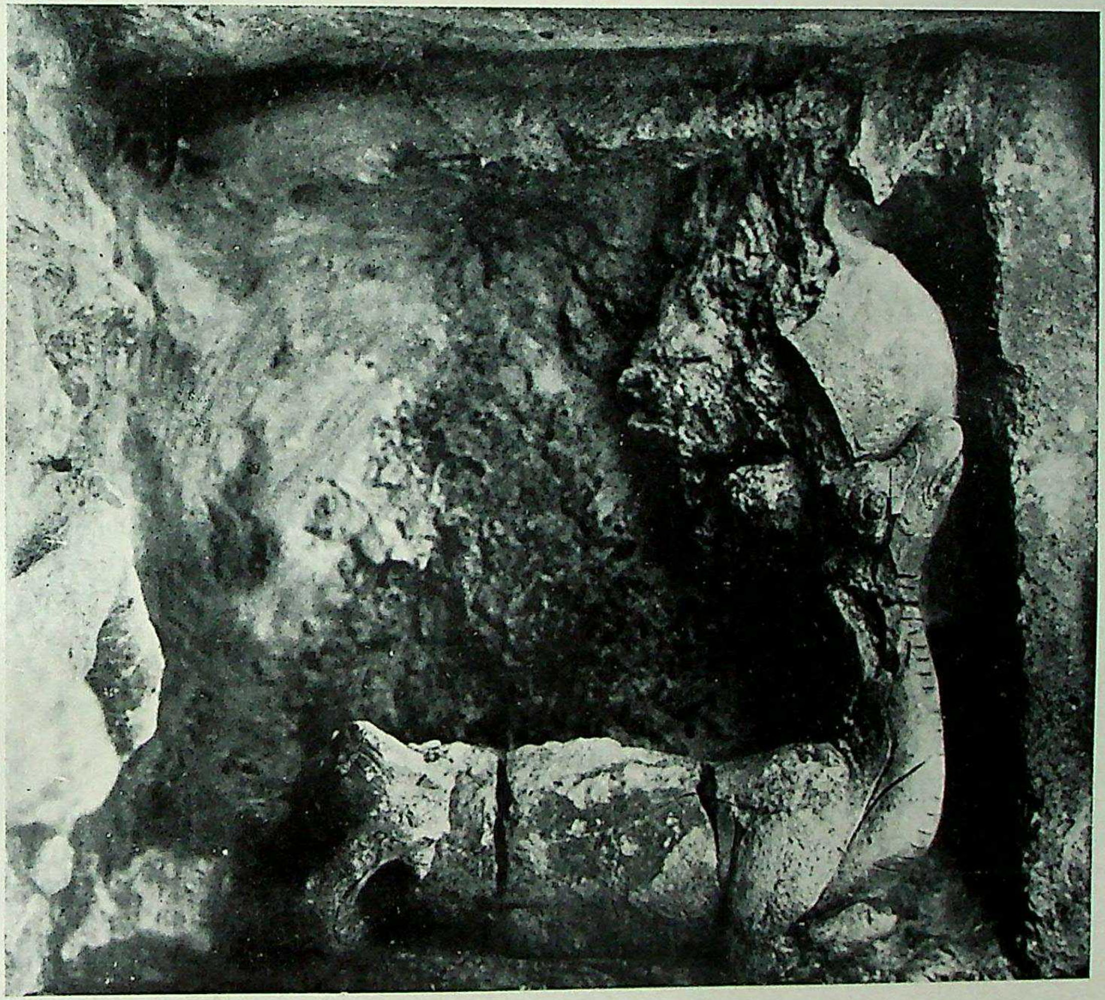
164. S 2.22 Mythical animal.



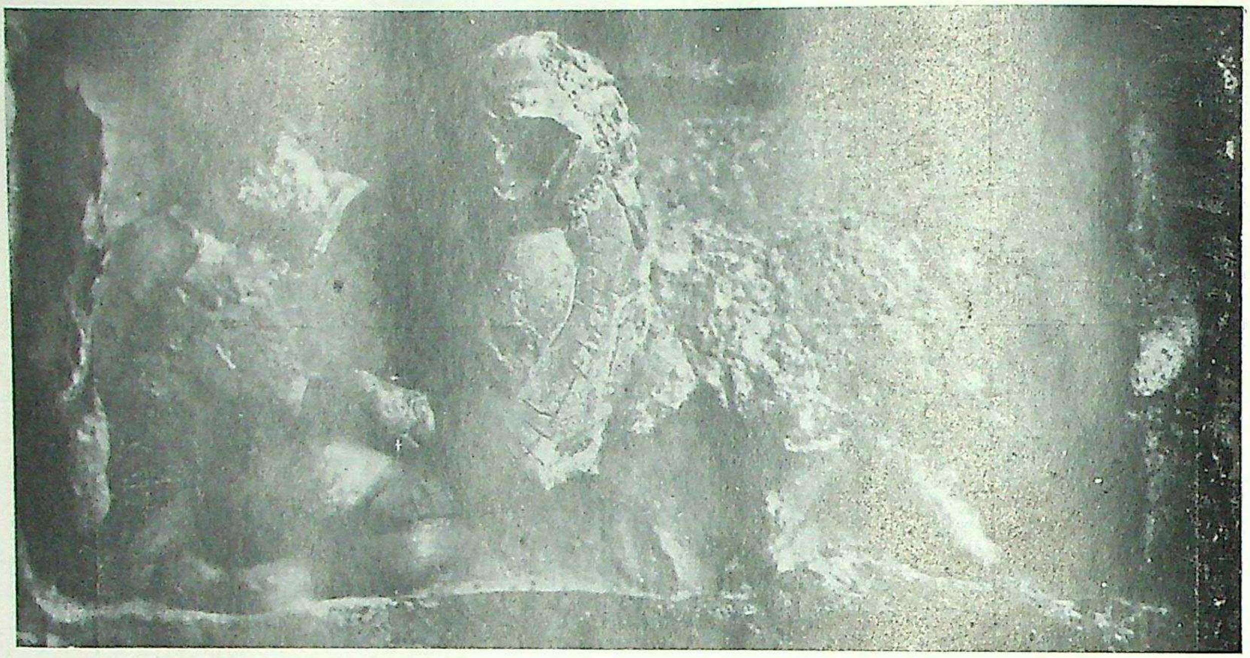
165. S 2.23 Mythical animal.



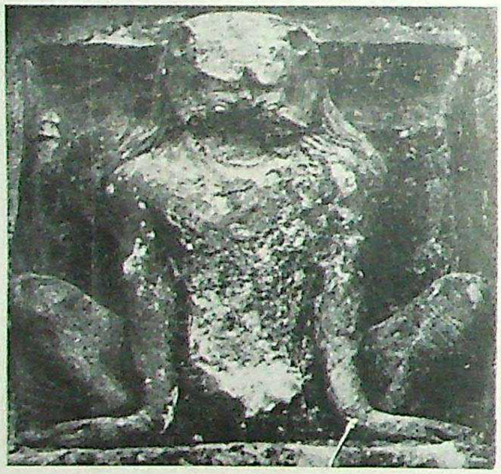
166. N 2.16 Mythical animal.



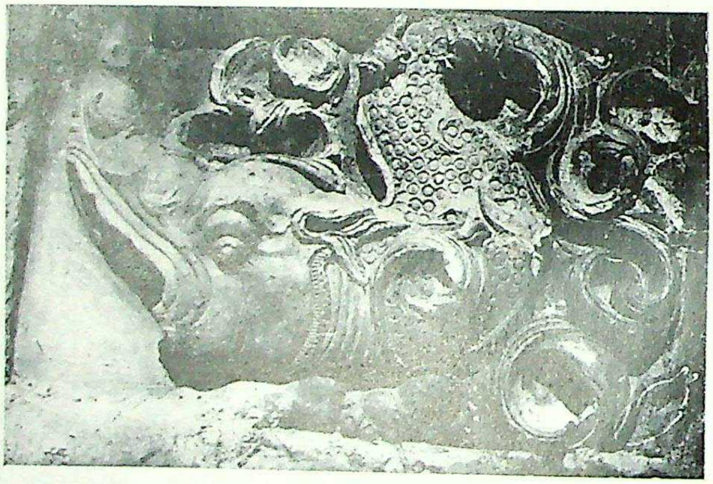
167. N 2.17 Animal without foliations.



168. N 2.23 Elephant and lion.

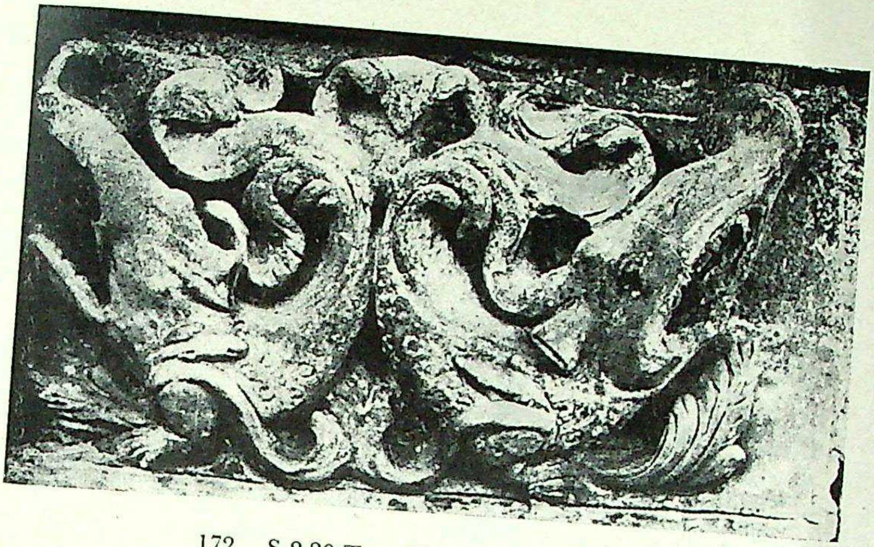


169. N 8.37 Seated figure with lion's head.

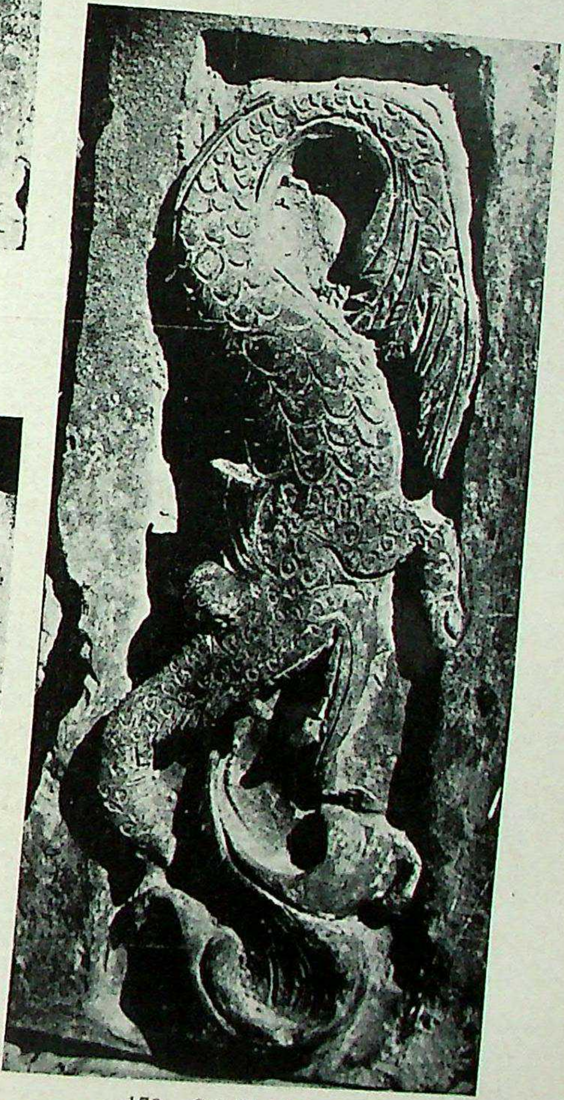


170. E 2.5 *Makara.*

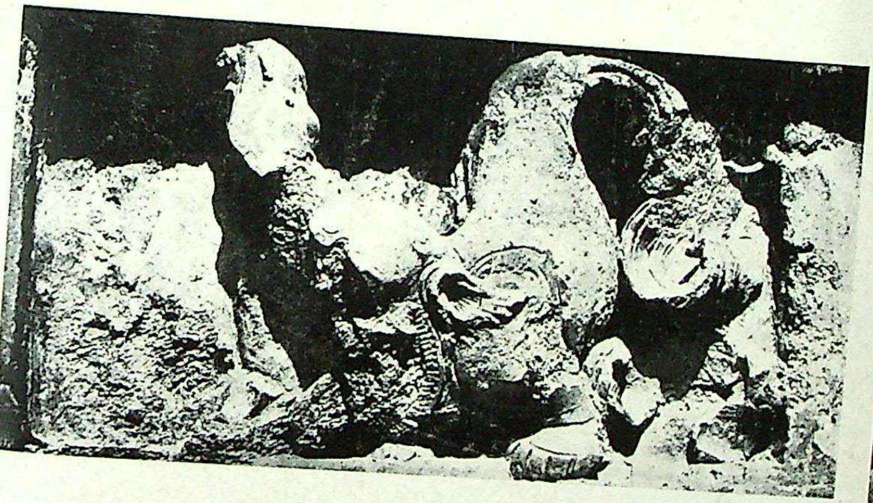
171. E 2.9 *Makara.*



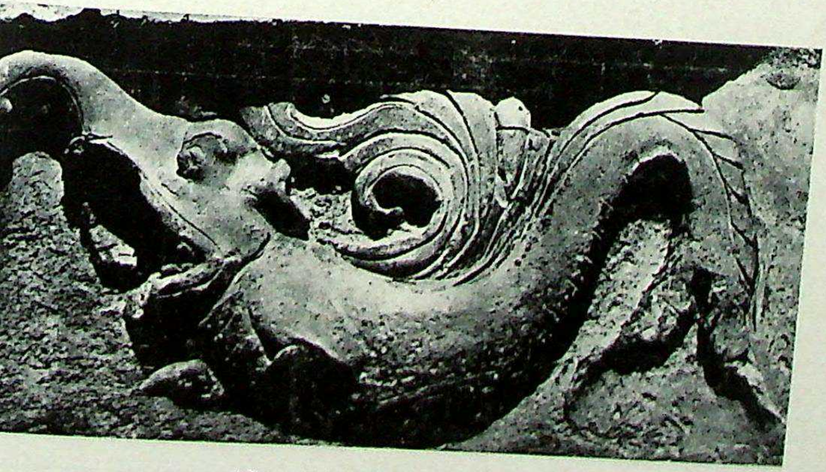
172. S 2.20 Two *Makaras* back to back.



173. S 2.21 *Makara*.

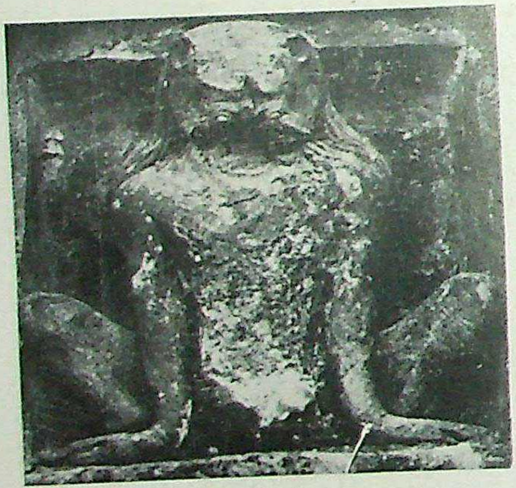


174. W 2.15 *Makara*.

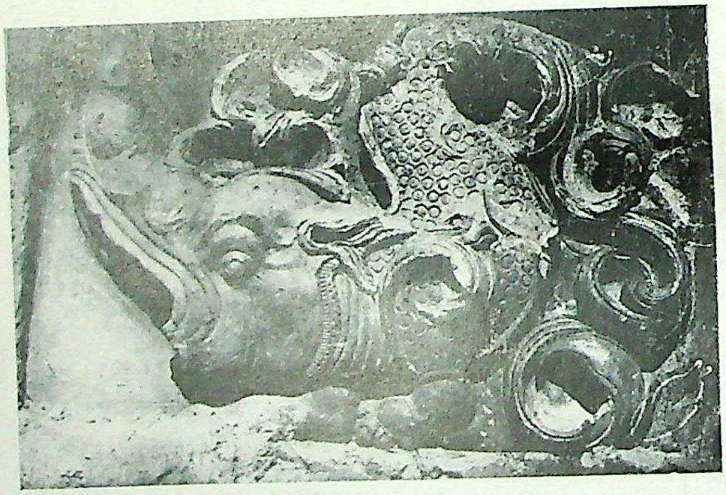


175. W 2 18 *Makara*.

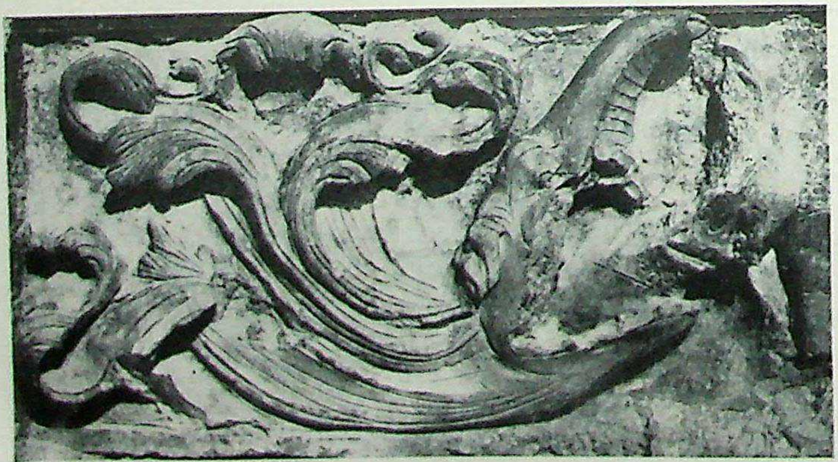
168. N 2.23 Elephant and lion.



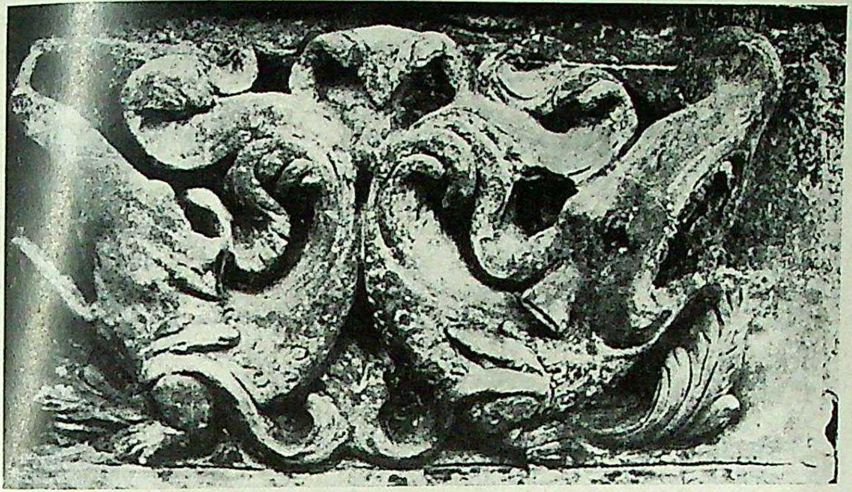
169. N 8.37 Seated figure with lion's head.



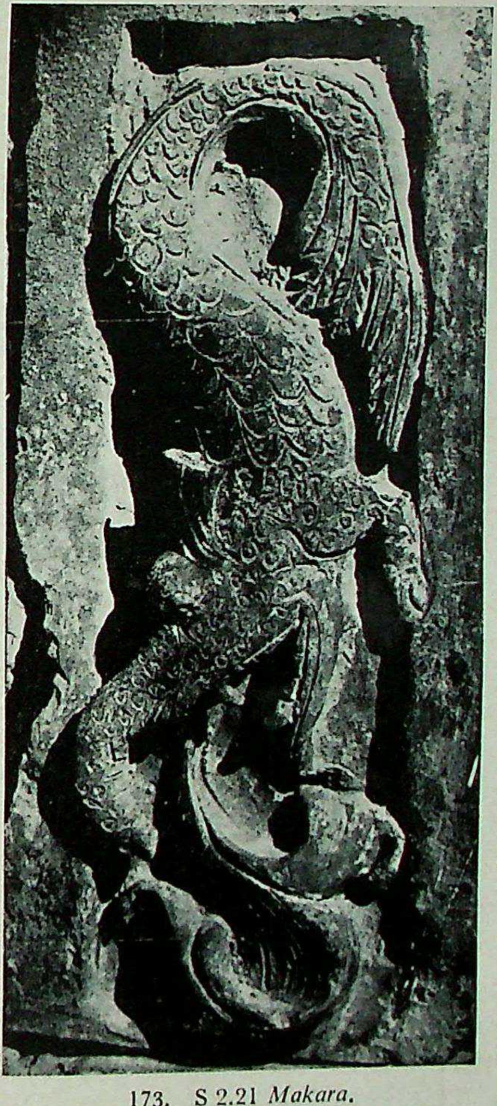
170. E 2.5 *Makara.*



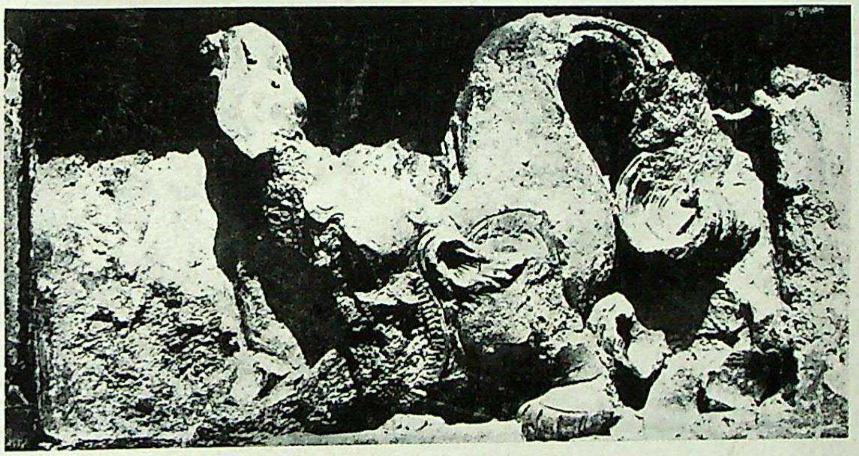
171. E 2.9 *Makara.*



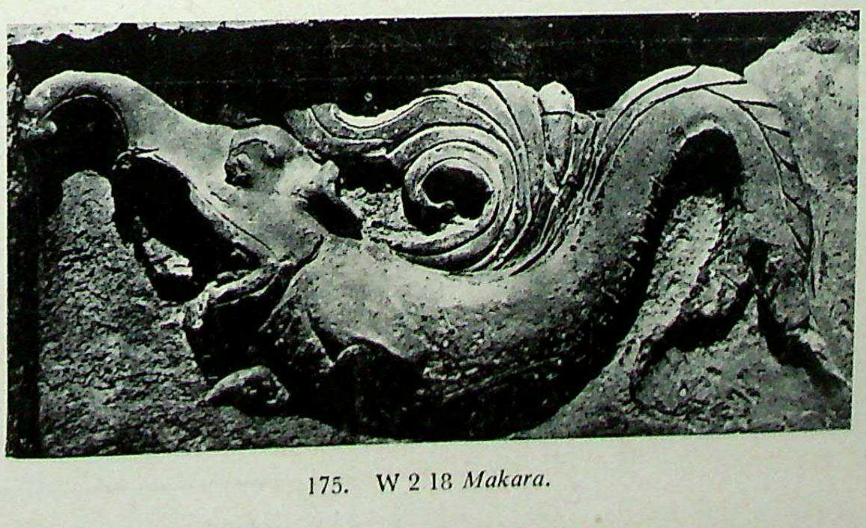
172. S 2.20 Two *Makaras* back to back.



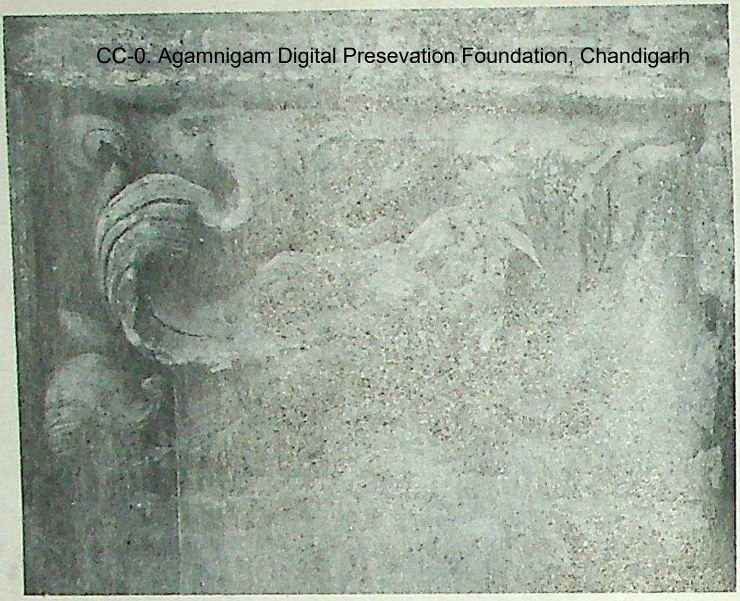
173. S 2.21 *Makara.*



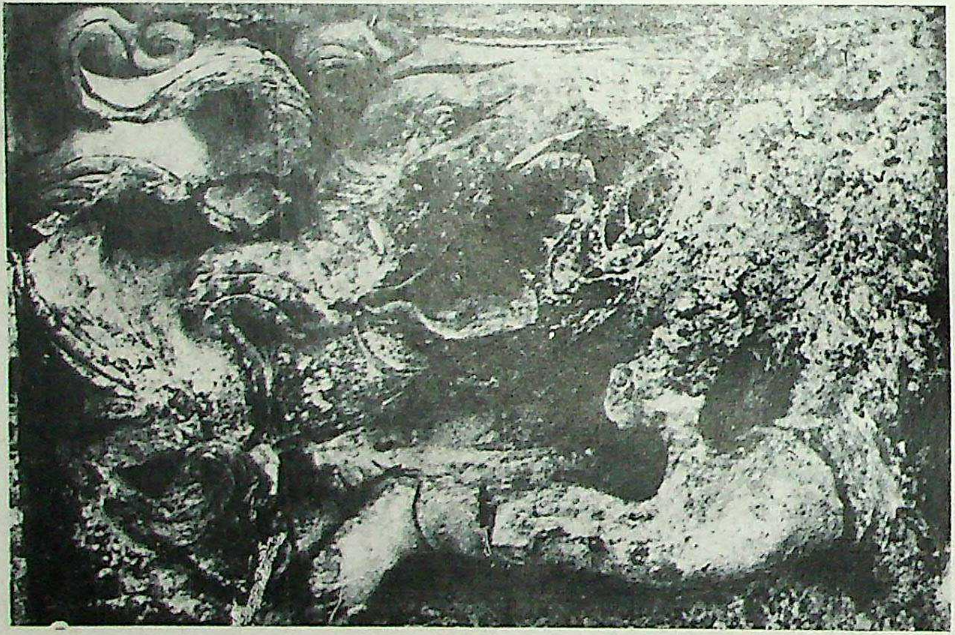
174. W 2.15 *Makara.*



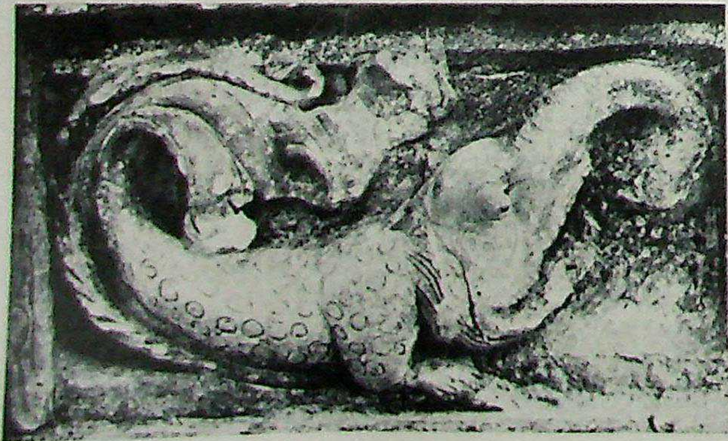
175. W 2 18 *Makara.*



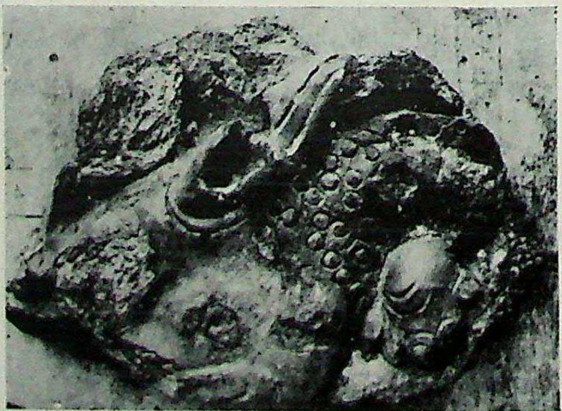
176. N 2.6 *Makara.*



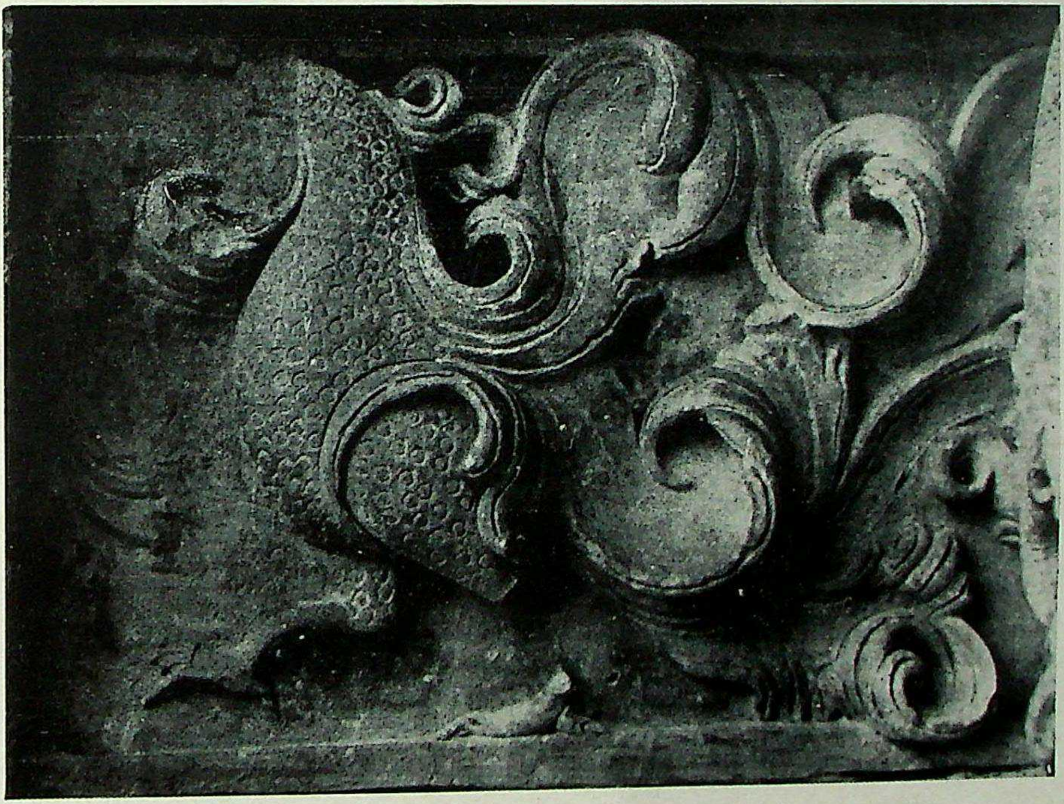
177. N 2.11 *Makara.*



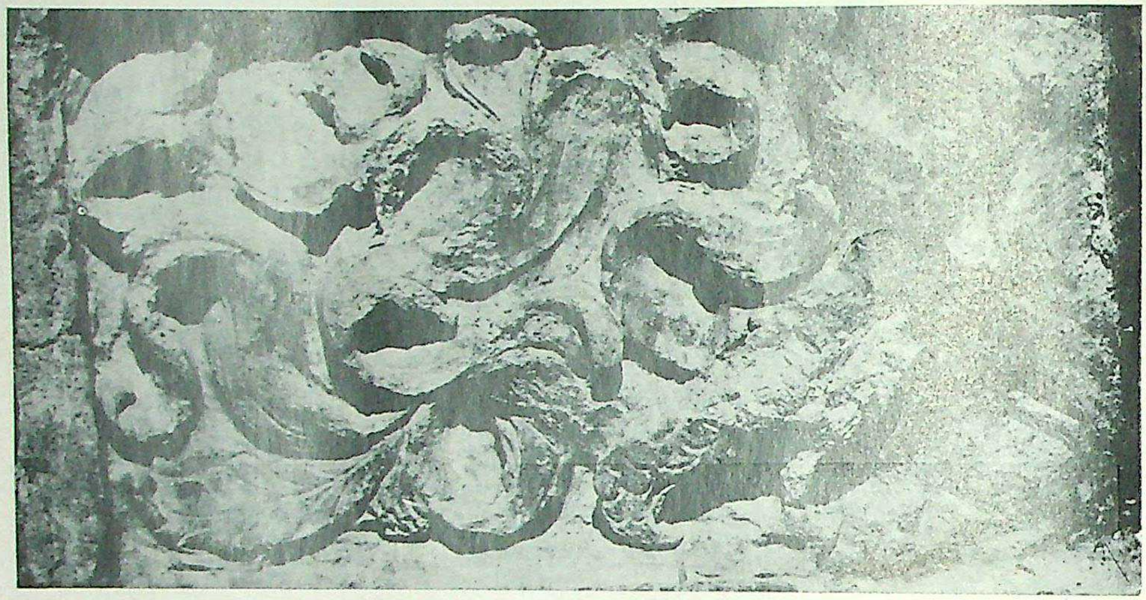
178. N 2.14 *Makara.*



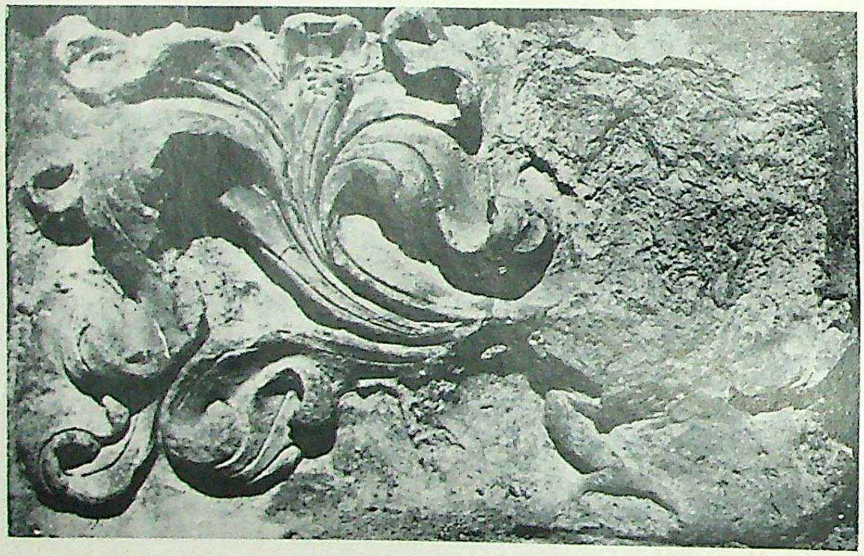
179. S 3111 SML *Makara.*



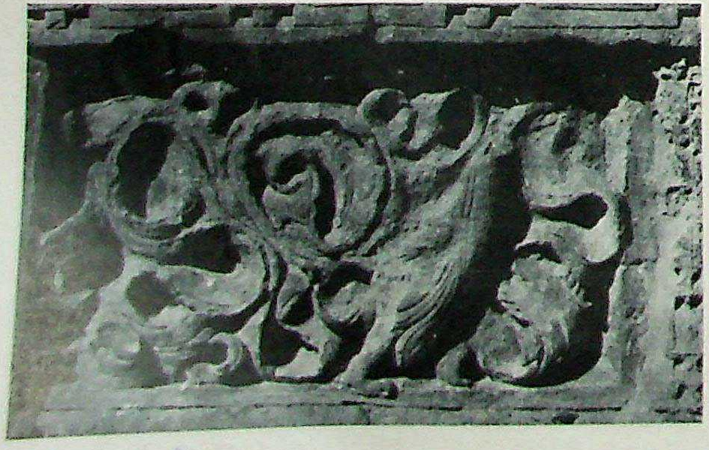
180. E 2.7 Bird with foliated wings and tail.



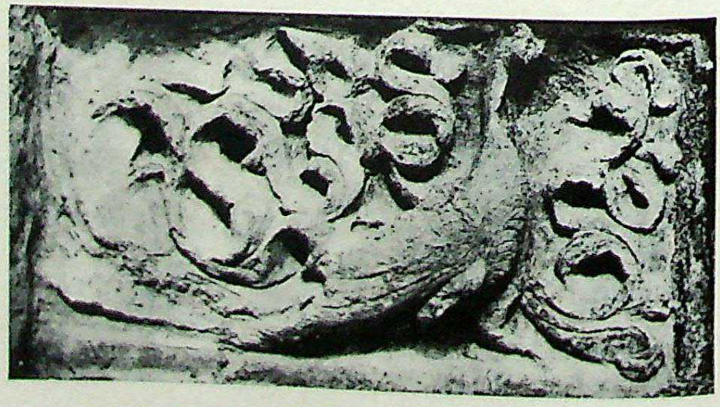
181. S 2.13 Peacock.



182. S 2.15 Peacock.



183. S 2.16 Peacock.



184. S 2.19 Peacock.

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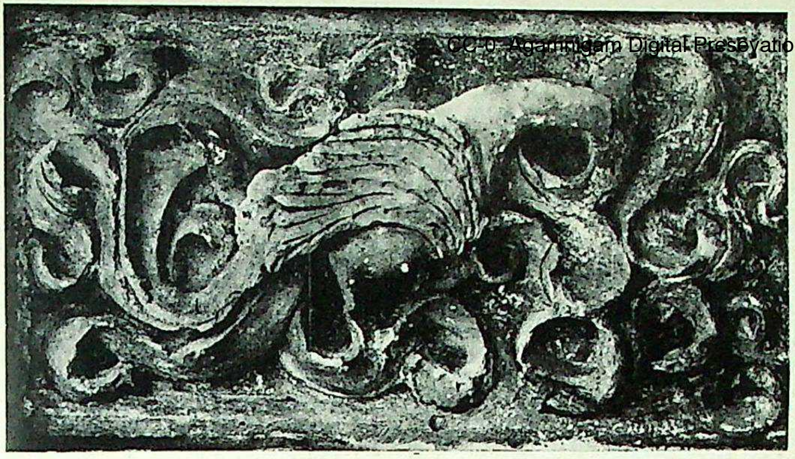
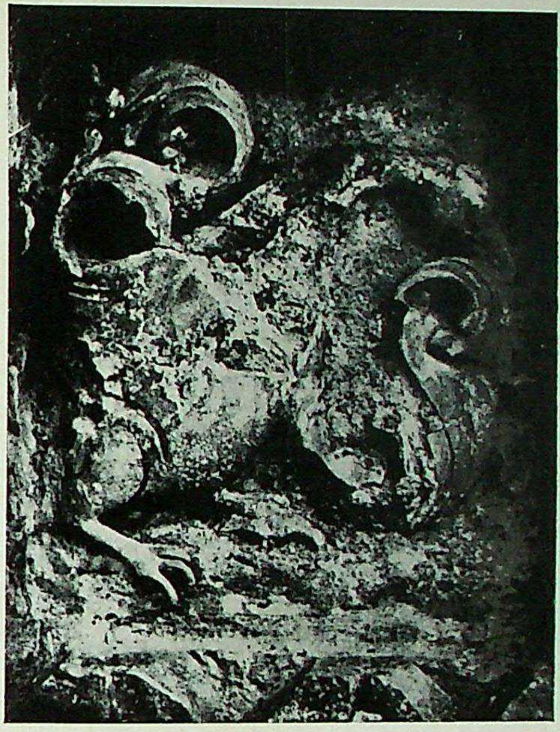
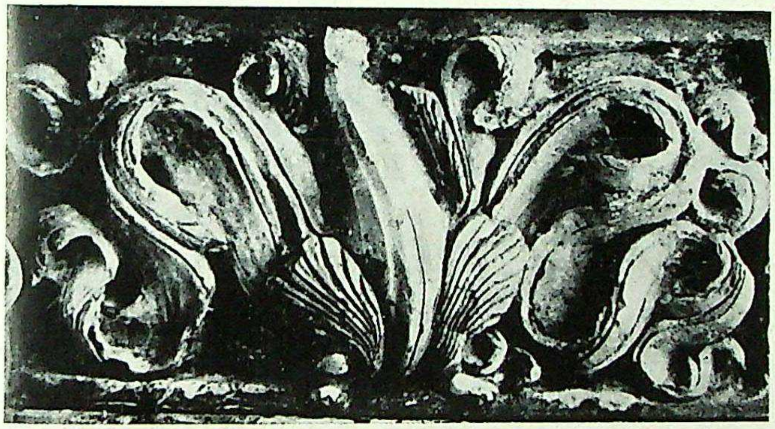


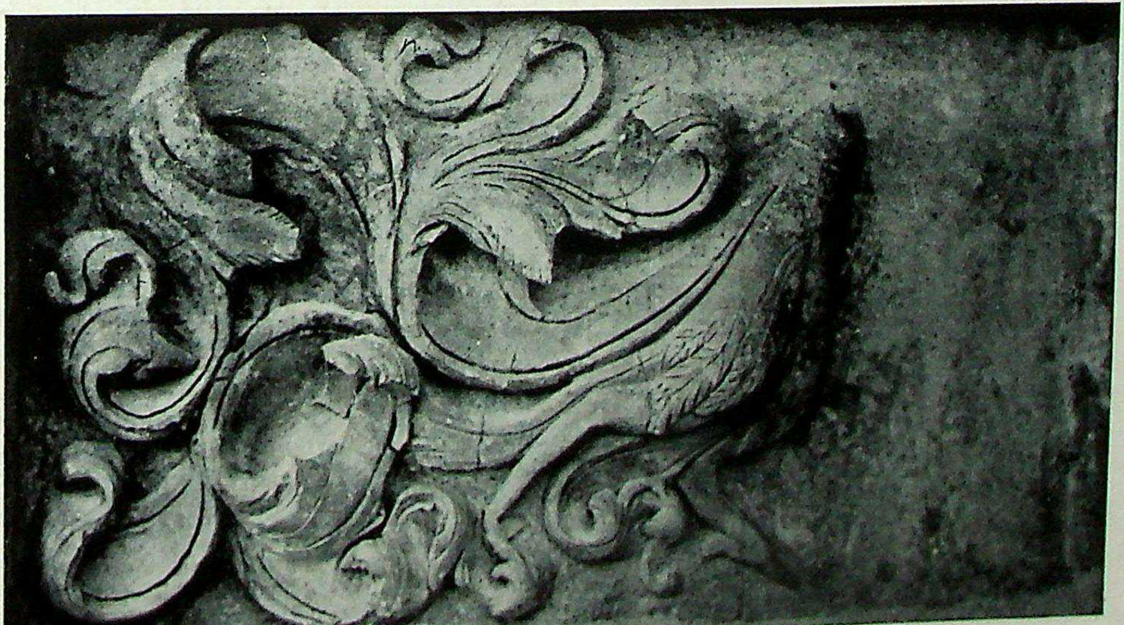
186. W 2.5 Peacock.



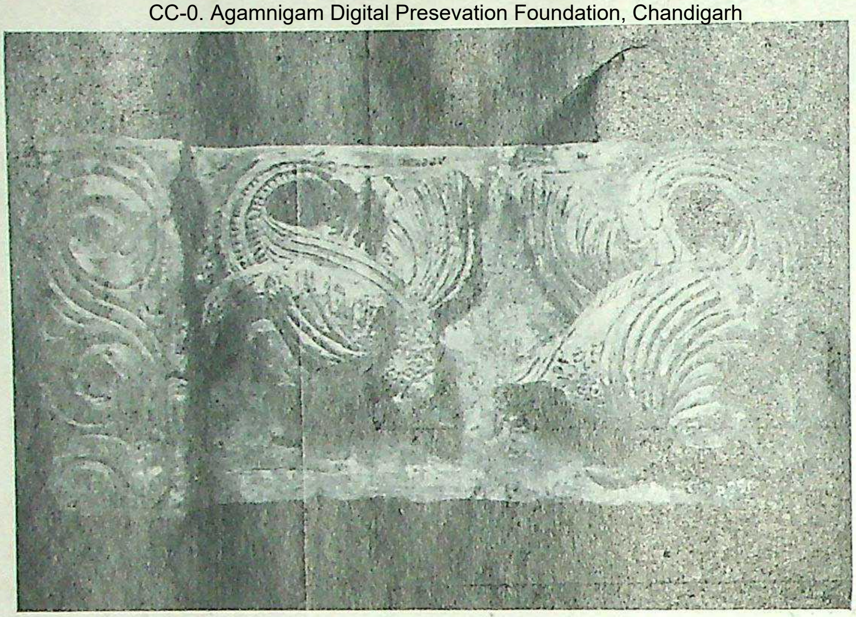
185. S 10.35 Bird.



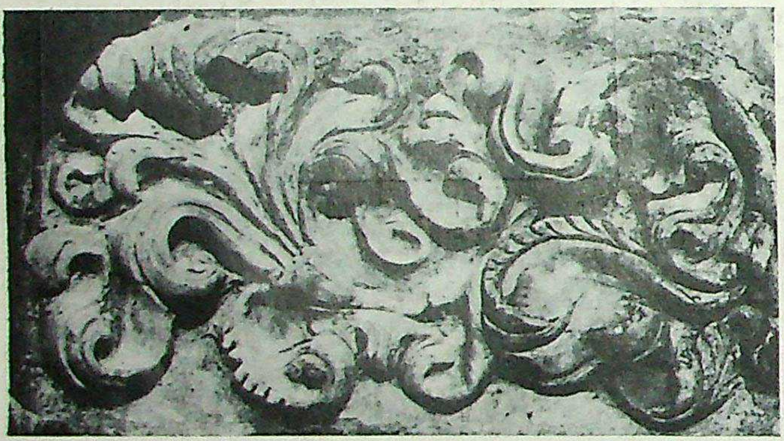
187. W 2.19 Bird.



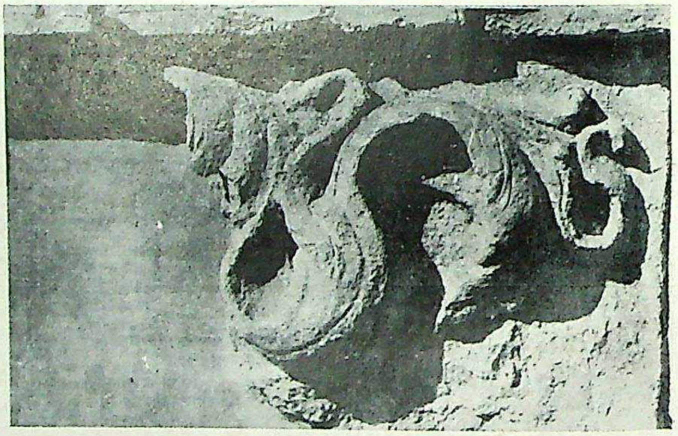
188. N 2.8 Bird.



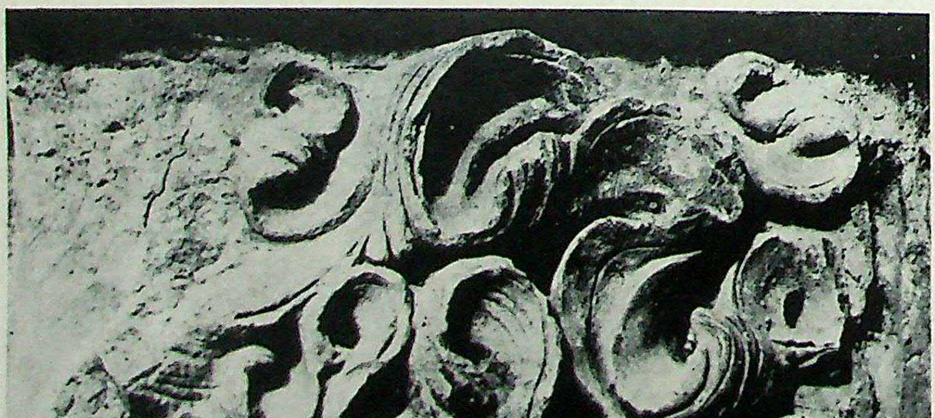
189. 53/62 IMG Fighting birds.



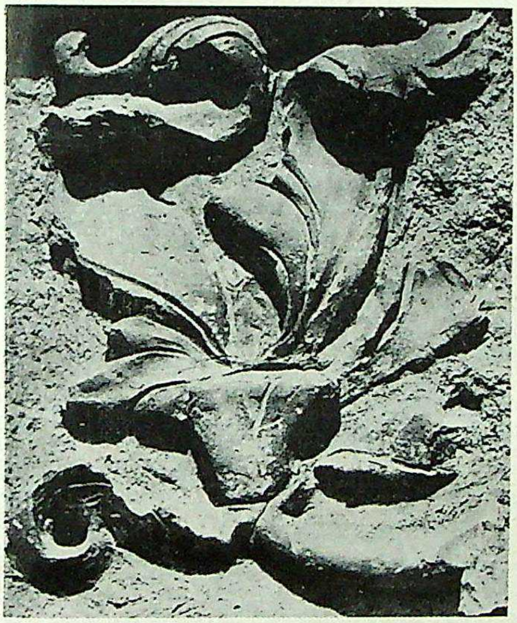
190. E 2.10 Foliated motif.



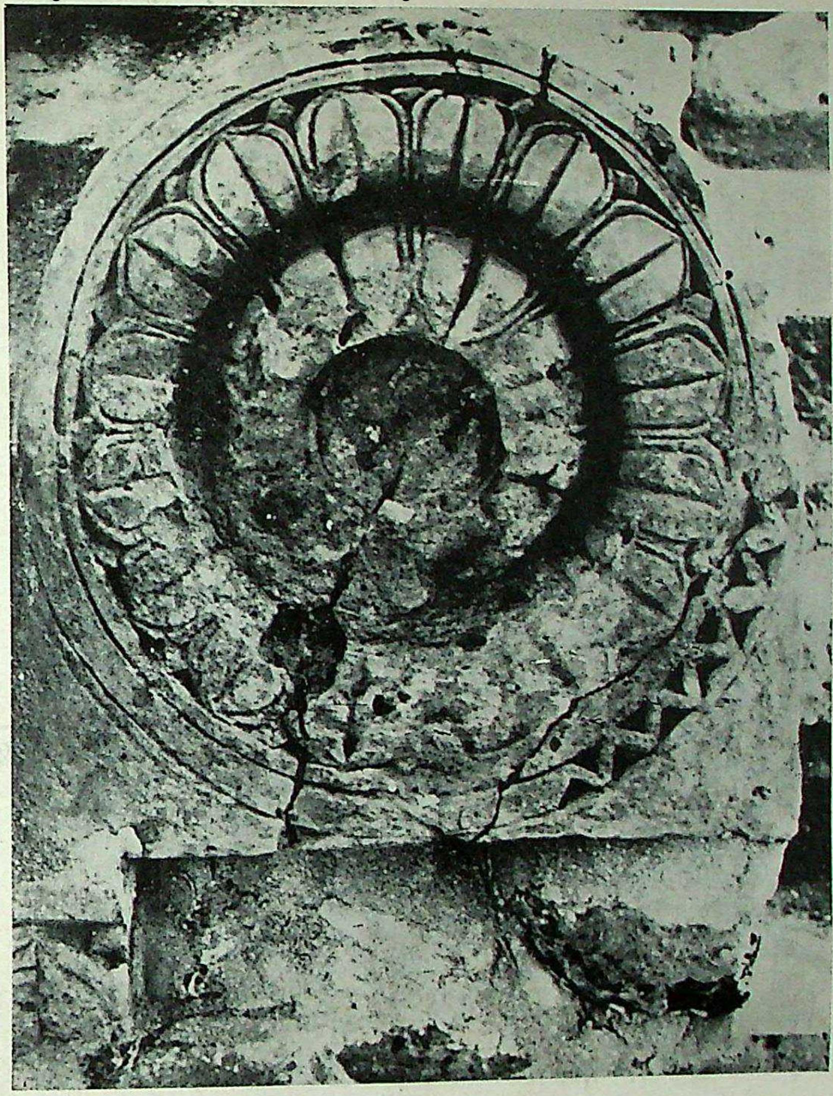
192. S 2.12 Foliated motif.



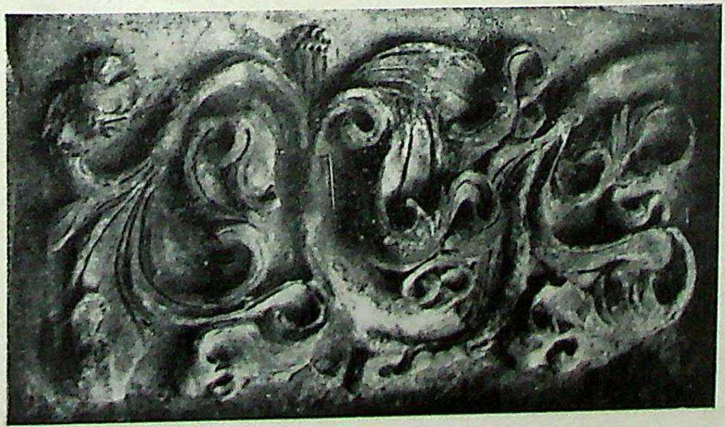
191. S 2.11 Foliated motif.



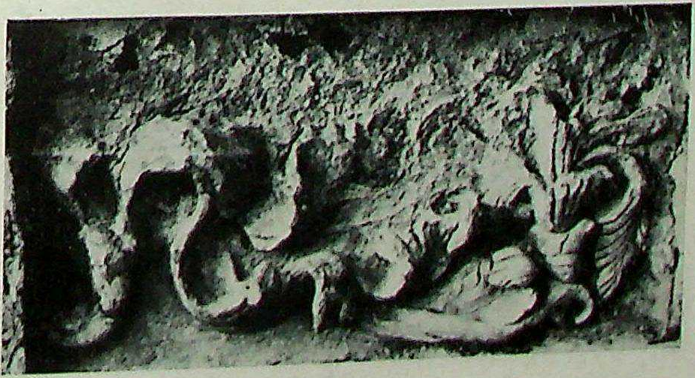
193. W 2.12 Foliated motif.



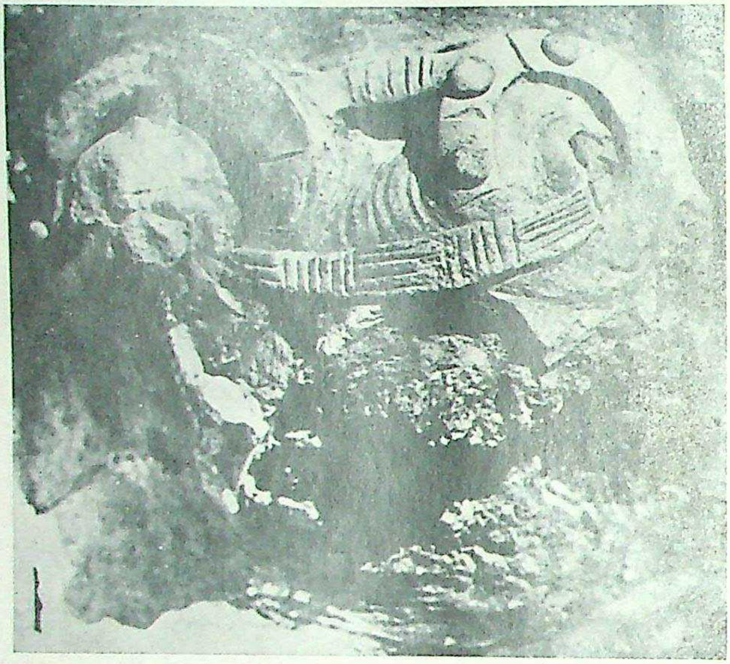
196. N 14.41 Lotus medallion.



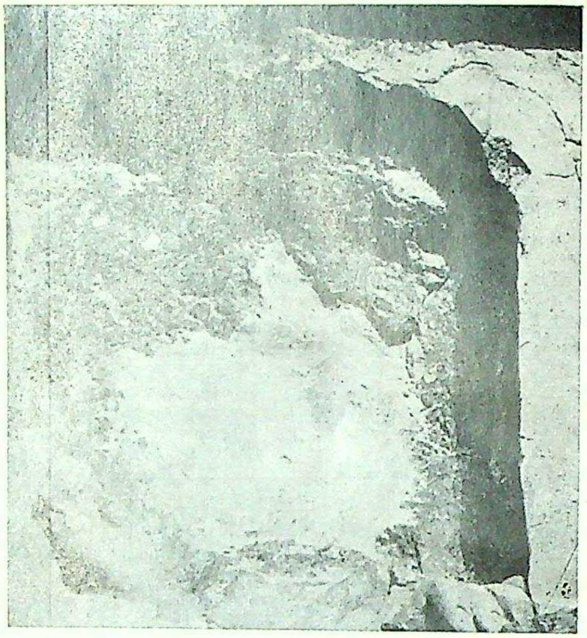
194. N 2.7 Foliated motif.



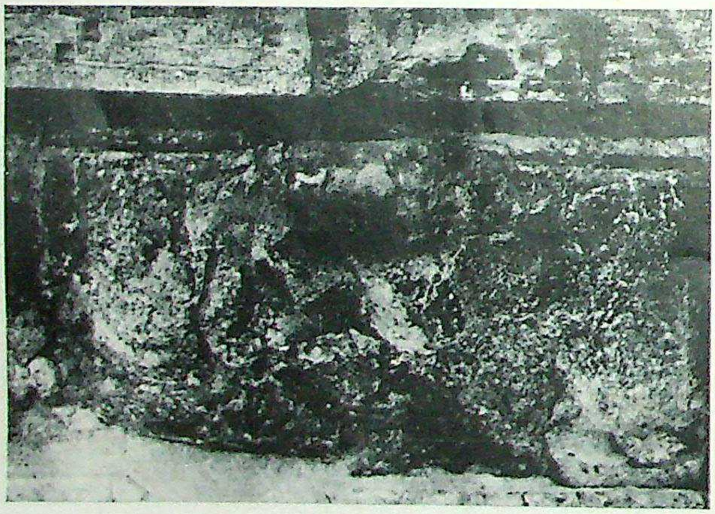
195. N 2.9 Foliated motif.



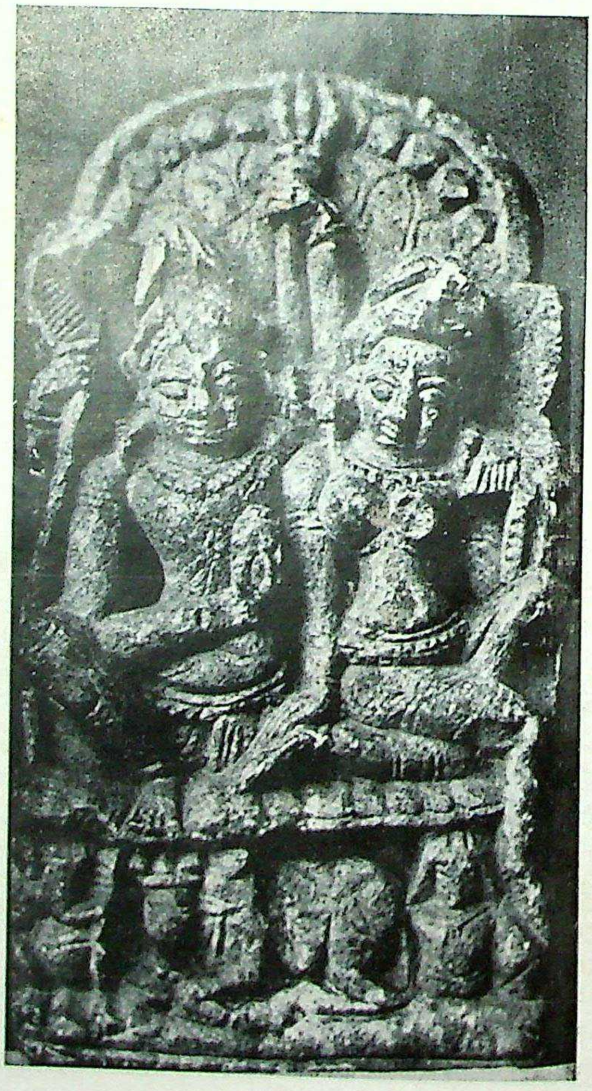
198. S 3.29 Unidentified subject.



197. E 3.13 Unidentified subject.



199. N 2.15 Unidentified subject.



200. 66.95 SML Steatite Plaque found during excavation in 1909.

Agam Kala Prakashan
Delhi